

DRAMATIZATIONS OF POWER IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION:

SOME EXAMPLES OF CULTURE AS SPECTACLE

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I declare that I am the sole author  
of this thesis and entirely respons-  
ible for the work contained herein.

## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The study is both theoretical and empirical. Spectacle is an aspect of many social systems and a means whereby it may be analyzed is offered. A number of illustrative studies of spectacle in the period 1780 to 1832 are furnished in order to support the theoretical element. The main focus is on the inter-connections between ideology, legitimation and class, accordingly emphasis is placed on the organization and presentation of spectacular events which offer either support or opposition to the status quo. In particular, it was hoped to clarify the means whereby power is articulated at the cultural level in specific events. The methodology draws on the contributions made by Marx and Weber with an admixture of more contemporary theoretical work. In addition, a number of new concepts aimed at the clarification of discussions of individual spectacles have been introduced. There is a twofold division in the thesis; the first part comprises the methodological enquiry in which a typology of spectacle is developed through a deconstruction of a wide variety of celebrations, demonstrations and so forth. The second section is devoted to an examination of spectacle in the context of the Industrial Revolution, followed by detailed studies of three events, drawn from this era. Tendencies in the cultural expressions of power were discovered to be connected with a wide range of factors included in which were the ideology's comprehension of residuality and potentiality. The capacity to incorporate oppositional ideology was found to be particularly important. Spectacle can, therefore, be analyzed as a specific cultural form. The typology outlined was found to have explanatory value, exposing both the conditions favouring the production of spectacle as such and the specificities in the cultural expression of the power of particular interests.

## INTRODUCTION

Our purpose is to analyze public, large-scale dramaturgical events having structural implications, by which is meant meetings, parades and so forth called in pursuit of some kind of political or religious interest. We have chosen to investigate particular incidents rather than whole genres because we sought: 1) detailed understanding of the cultural implications of particular configurations of interests and 2) to grasp each meeting, parade or whatever as a staged event, the product of the creative endeavours of a specific body/bodies. Although our focus has been on individual events, brought together, they become examples of what we have termed spectacles. As a result it seemed appropriate to construct a methodology whereby these incidents could be analyzed. Firstly, in order to be classified as spectacular, the incident had to include humanly-constructed visual element(s) which are novel and/or perceived as noteworthy by participants/observers. Further, because the displays have structural implications and involve the interests of particular sets of people, the focus has been on the ideological content. Lastly, given the cultural emphasis, a means whereby the rhetoric and spatial arrangements of the events could be examined in the light of broader societal developments as well as those specific to the producers of the spectacle was sought.

The methodology consists of categories to assess what may be analytically separated out into form and content. Some of the categories have evolved from studies of spectacles and, in those cases, the discussion will be quite full. However, others will be less detailed for, in these instances, terms will be applied which are in general use. As a result, a brief description follows indicating the main tradition from which our uses of ideology, legitimation and

class are drawn. Further discussion of these categories will occur within the main text.

The term ideology will be taken to refer to a body of ideas which fulfills certain requirements. It must give an account of the past and present and, likewise, offer a guideline for the future. This account may involve either justification for maintenance or modification of the existing social order or extensive social change. In the case of the latter, the change may result in a furtherance of established/dominant material interests/ideas or a rejection of them and the presentation of an alternative(s), in which case, other interests are put forward. Thus an ideology is collective and goal-oriented, typically based on notions of 'general interests' and 'society'. The core of these ideas is the explanation of informal and, especially, institutionalized relations between individuals, classes and status groups, particularly in the political and economic spheres. However, broader issues often play a part since these ideologies frequently attempt to universalize a notion of human nature in vindication of policies, goals and so on, thus ignoring or failing to perceive the historically specific nature of social phenomena. Whilst within any social order, there may be more than one ideology, the dominant one, as Marx pointed out, is always that which embodies the ideas of the ruling class. Such an ideology consists of all those belief-systems, propositions, ideas, norms, etc. which serve to maintain and/or extend the material/ideological interests/control of the dominant class. Lastly, it is necessary to point out that ideology is seen here as both 'ideas' and material practices. Clearly, 'ideas' are not strictly 'material', nevertheless, ideas/ideologies are translated into and embedded within material practices, that is they are concretized and realized empirically, influencing the stru-

cture of social relations and constituting 'ways of doing and seeing' and, in this latter regard, their affirmative function is particularly important. It is, of course, precisely on this concretization of ideology with which this study is concerned.

Legitimacy is almost always sought by rulers, (even if, in practice, it appears automatic) in the form of the claim that the system by which they dominate is legitimate. It is typically articulated as a right to claim/command particular behaviour and subjects have a duty to obey/accept. Thus even within a system of legitimate domination, each new claim has to be incorporated as a legitimate claim (via acceptance), or rejected as illegitimate. The legitimacy of any particular claim or command is determined empirically, as the existence of a legitimate order does not entail that any and every claim made within that context is immediately and automatically accepted and established. However, a challenge to any part of the system of domination is also an appeal to legitimacy, too. It may be to the 'real' principles behind the established order, or to a totally different source, for example, God, 'democracy'. Alternatively, it may be argued that one's claims to legitimacy are legitimate because they fit in with, or do not violate, the existing system. Weber identified three types of legitimate domination, although elements of one system may be found in another, even when the systems are, on the whole, incompatible. However, typically, traditional, charismatic and rational-legal systems are respectively legitimated as belief in custom and *morés*, subordinates' affectual allegiance and the legality and rationality of the given order. Further, the kind of legitimacy claimed has consequences regarding the sort of obedience required, staff necessary to ensure it and the way in which authority is exercised. In order to verify legitimacy of a

system of domination, two factors must be considered, namely 'appropriate attitudes' and practical conduct of society as a whole. Nevertheless, to ascertain legitimacy, it does not matter why people hold the 'appropriate attitudes' and 'act accordingly' since the significance lies in the fact that they do. Thus, to locate how legitimate domination is maintained, some examination of the beliefs held by the subjects is, where possible, desirable. The justifications offered by the institutions which help maintain domination as well as the formulation of opinions held by subjects with regard to 'rights' is one aspect of ideology. It will be seen then that we are focusing on the cultural expression of claims of legitimacy, included in which is the dramatization of some of its consequences.

As regards class, we shall follow the Marxian model and assign members of the social order to classes on the basis of their relations to the 'means of subsistence', that is those who own the means of subsistence and those who do not. However, the division of the social order into owners and non-owners of property is matched by a second division, upon which Marx concentrated, namely that between those who produce surplus value and those who extract it from the creators. Finally, we recognize disjunctions between class positions assigned in this way and the political power of the incumbents. Consequently, in apportioning class, we shall attempt to take into account the divisions between owners/non-owners of the means of subsistence and/or production, creators and extractors of surplus value and disjunctions between economic and political power.

The study falls into two main parts 1) methodological and 2) illustrative. In the first section, we introduce a number of themes stemming from our interests in spectacle, in particular, the progressive/conservative dichotomy and the potential for variation in the

class/ideology configuration. We then go on to discuss the main groupings at each spectacle and, lastly, several sections are devoted to the two basic ideological types - individualism and collectivism - and their cultural articulation. The illustrative, second part, comprises three studies of representative spectacles, consisting of a religious and two political stagings and, on each occasion, the organizers are drawn from one of the three social classes. In our conclusion, we have sought to reflect the pattern introduced in the first part, by drawing generalized results on spectacle from the studies, bearing in mind, at all times, the socio-historical specificity of the illustrations.

Throughout the study, illustrations will be drawn almost entirely from the period in British history known as the Industrial Revolution, namely 1780 to 1832.<sup>1</sup> The chief reasons why we have chosen to focus on this period are 1) it provides a wealth of material because it was a time of intense social change and 2) it has attracted the attention of a number of scholars and, consequently, much secondary material is available. It was thought appropriate to focus on the spectacle drawn from a particular period for three main reasons. In the first place, spectacle is constituted of a number of socio-historic specificities. Secondly, the links between spectacles of any one period are of some significance and, therefore, in order to heighten the possible value of any conclusions we may draw on these events, it will be useful to bear in mind the inter-relationships within an epoch.



## CHAPTER ONE

### SPECTACLE: A DEFINITION

The term spectacle has been used in a variety of ways, hence, this chapter will commence with an examination of some previous applications, before moving to an introductory survey of its employment throughout the study. A discussion of the socio-historical nature of the form will be followed by an outline of the period under consideration and from there we shall return to a more detailed description of the elements contained within the concept spectacle.

Spectacle, in its Latin form, was used by the Romans to describe the benches occupied by the onlookers, or spectators, at large-scale public events. This usage suggests, therefore, a concentration on the onlookers, their numbers and the manner in which they were grouped. However, as European theatre developed, spectacle came to designate the visual elements in productions involving rich costume and complex staging. Outside the theatre and other places of live entertainment e.g. fairs, enactments of important customary events typically defined as such by the dominant religious interest, didactic presentations often associated with the law and ceremonious displays of the ruler(s) continued to take place. But it was the French Revolution in 1789 which appears to have suggested the redefinition of the role of the spectator and the integration of aesthetic elements drawn from sources outside traditional presentations. Rousseau, for example, argued for patriotic festivals to be held around a monument inscribed with the names of peoples' heroes. The purpose of these events was to create a cult of the people and its past in order to legitimate the extraordinarily rapid and wide-spread social

changes which had taken place in France. 'Spectacles are made for the people', claimed Rousseau, 'and it is only by the effect which they have upon the people that one can judge them'.<sup>1</sup> The transition between the feudal and bourgeois modes was reflected in the use of liturgical forms, as Mosse points out.

Festivals were to be extraordinary occasions which lifted man above the isolation of daily life, but they were also to recur regularly and thus provide a sense of order paralleling the 'Christian year', with its regular cycles of holy days. Public festivals were designed not merely to further the enthusiasms of crowds, but also to form them through the use of an orderly liturgy.<sup>2</sup>

Political spectacle continued to be important; in Germany, for example, the nationalism that gradually developed throughout the nineteenth century rested upon an ideology heavily imbued with idealism resulting in the production of a wide variety of secular events, many of which were highly ceremonious. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn may be cited as an advocate of large-scale events with a strong visual emphasis, centred round historical monuments and drawing, for the action of the ceremonies, upon the deeds of the people. These occasions (and many others like them) were legitimated by calls for identification with the nation - monarchical or republican, depending upon the circumstances - and organized, in the main, by societies whose sole reason for existence was to produce spectacles and clubs, such as choirs, with interests that could neatly dovetail into the ideology upon which these huge affairs rested. In this concept of spectacle, nationalist ideals, control over the behaviour of both spectators and performers and the creation of events with the view to their becoming an integral part of the calendar were inherent.<sup>3</sup>

In politics, spectacle has not always been applied as a description of a particular kind of occasion, nor has it necessarily sug-

gested active participation as in Rousseau and Jahn's collectivist ideologies. Guy Debord's book La société du spectacle: La théorie situationniste, one of the best known texts to come out of the May, 1968 French protest, describes the consumer economy as the 'society of spectacle'. Here, as Bernard Brown makes plain, 'spectacle represents the "nonliving", a false consciousness, mere external appearance divorced from reality, the incarnation of passivity, the unreal heart of the real society, the opposite of life'.<sup>4</sup> Thus spectacle is the description of a certain kind of social life where, according to Debord, relations between people are alienated and the sole concern is with the appearance of things. The term is drained of the critical potential in the act of looking and is used, as an image, to condemn a particular social system requiring, amongst other things, specialization in labour and bureaucratic control. The restrictive implications of form are taken up by Duvignaud in his discussion of the continuities and breaks between social and dramatic ceremony. 'The real difference', he argues, 'rests on the fact that in the theatre action is made for seeing, and is, indeed, reconstituted by spectacle'.<sup>5</sup> However, in specific cases, 'ceremonial forms and theatrical forms are distinguishable through different degrees of emphasis', one of which is the 'theatrical event that is not directed towards immediate action but uses artistic forms to fulfil the intentions of a group or an individual - royal processions for example'.<sup>6</sup> Thus Duvignaud suggests that outside the theatre building, spectacle may serve as an element in ideological practices. But its purest form is found in dramatic ceremonial where action 'is enclosed in contemplation, in visualization, which, like all planned spectacle, is a prison, a "concentration-camp world": since action, instead of being carried out is spoken and defined in symbolic form.

Social rituals change things in real life'.<sup>7</sup> The interpretation of spectacle offered here by Duvignaud makes plain that speech is both integral to the concept and not necessarily excluded from ceremonial enacted outside theatre buildings.

As will be seen from the brief appraisal made above of some previous applications of spectacle, it has been used in a vague and somewhat imprecise way, although some people have attempted to mould it into a more rigorous concept. Amongst the latter, self-conscious innovation has been advocated as much as exploitation of established forms. Similarly, the restrictive aspects of form have exercised the attention of some modern theorists and, in this connection, the passivity of the onlookers has been emphasized. For other commentators, the mobilizing and legitimating potential of enormous public spectacles has acted as the basis for examinations of their dynamic elements. The question of how, by and for whom such events should be organized is partially reflected in the variations in the meanings attached to the more commonplace uses of the word. Thus we find that, at one time, the term was used to describe the arrangements made to accommodate onlookers, whereas it was subsequently employed to refer to elements of the presentation. Thus spectacle contains within it resonances from a wide range of cultural modes and theoretical formulations. So, bearing in mind these concluding remarks, we shall now turn to a general description of spectacle as it will be employed throughout the study.

## I

Spectacles are non-routine, pre-arranged, large-scale witnessed events with a plurality of forms, the common element being their visual nature. The emphasis on visibility is part of an ideological

commitment on the part of the organizers to events which overtly symbolize power, both residual and potential. Spectacle is, therefore, a dimension of ideological conflict and is directed toward a particular social group or 'target group', defined herein as the authority, interest group or class to which the expression of power is directed. Thus we may include military parades, certain kinds of ritual punishment, religiously sanctioned thanksgiving festivals and so on. However, because the events are concerned with expressions of power at the structural level, those which are recreational e.g. football matches, as well as 'natural' phenomena e.g. earthquakes, and responses to them are excluded.

Spectacle is a type of cultural production and, as such, does not necessarily parallel or manifestly delineate the interests of a particular class or group. Rather its most typical formulations are constitutive of relations within any given social system, hence spectacle can incorporate different ideological positions and class interests under the same general umbrella of protest or legitimation. The Aldermaston marches organized by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament attracted pacifists opposed to any war and groups protesting against nuclear weapons only. Similarly, differences in political positions meant that for the majority, the status quo, and perhaps even the conservative government, were quite acceptable whereas a minority hoped that pursuit of this single issue would prove the jumping-off point for the mass activity necessary to alter the whole social system. Alternatively, Princess Anne's wedding derived and mobilized support from all social classes while legitimating the dominant ideology of our times. Thus class and ideology can vary independently of one another. Different classes can support a particular spectacle because they are mobilized on the basis of the same

belief system or because the ambiguity in the event can allow different ideological interpretations. Nevertheless, there are political distinctions to be drawn between events, the main one being between conservative and progressive spectacle. For while conservative spectacle affirms a dominant ideology and structure of power across classes, or attempts to, progressive spectacle is, in some way, a protest against the status quo. We may, in the case of progressive spectacle, identify three different class/ideology correlations; the connection between class and belief system may be distinct as at the demonstration welcoming the Pentonville Five out of jail. Alternatively, the spectacle may allow different classes with disparate ideologies, an example of which would be the Grosvenor Square demonstration against the American involvement in Vietnam. Finally, different classes with differing responses to the same ideological formation may be represented at the same event as was the case at VE Day celebrations when representatives of all classes hoped to see a real change for the better in Britain. Another significant division between conservative and progressive spectacle seems to be a fundamental ideological cleavage between the conservative attempt to depoliticise spectacle in the interest of the legitimization of ruling interests and the progressive attempt to politicise spectacle in order to challenge that legitimacy in some form. Yet both politicisation and depoliticisation are political in nature and origin, that is both conservative and progressive spectacle are dramatizations of power whose realization has structural consequences. However, in order to distinguish between say the great TUC demonstration against the Industrial Relations Act and one of the many spectacles mounted during the celebration of the Silver Jubilee, we shall employ Robert Merton's concept of manifest and latent functions. Its purpose, as

Merton makes clear, is to draw attention to the distinction between 'conscious motivations for social behavior and its objective consequences'.<sup>8</sup> Hence, manifest function refers to 'those objective consequences for a specified unit (person, subgroup, social or cultural system) which contribute to its adjustment or adaptation and were so intended' whereas latent function describes 'unintended and unrecognized consequences of the same order'.<sup>9</sup> Thus within the terms of Merton's schema, the latent function of the Silver Jubilee was to legitimate the established social structure for, in Britain, the role of the monarchy signifies the existence of a ruling institution which, by its very nature, is allocated the major task of 'spectacular' justification.

Turning now to the fundamental purpose of spectacle, namely the demonstration, in symbolic form, of power. Firstly, it must be emphasized that in no sense is power itself symbolic, rather we should consider it always in terms of the ability to do something concrete. Consequently, we shall make use of Weber's definition of power, namely 'the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action'.<sup>10</sup> This interpretation precludes an explanation which perceives power to be embodied in symbols themselves, favouring, instead, an analysis of the political, economic and/or social prerogatives of the interests utilising them; thus, for example, the cross is representative of the wide-embracing power of the Christian Church and does not contain God's omnipotence. Consequently, we recognize spectacle as symptomatic of the distribution of such authority and the point at which power to carry out certain acts is demonstrated rather than where significant decisions are actually taken. For organizers employ dramatic and theatrical



elements drawn from all areas of social activity in order to plead with or threaten, show deference to or persuade others that they should not offer resistance, either psychically or physically.

Spectacle can embody the symbolization of both residual and potential power, although not necessarily with equivalent emphases. Residual power is that evidence or accumulation of power which is typically presented as a body of rightly achieved past successes. The achievement of justifiable goals by legitimate means may be deemed to describe 'success'. Potentiality is much more difficult to portray, as Tilly remarks with respect to the activities of social movements, for it refers to situations we cannot observe, assumes the behaviour of all parties remains constant and calls for the theorizing of tactics.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, 'the implicit threat', Tilly observes, 'that a party will use the means it has in reserve often (perhaps always) multiplies the effect of the means actually used'.<sup>12</sup> Threats do not have to embrace aggressive posturings, simply suggest the capacity of the organizers to undermine the power of the target group, however slight either may be. Hence, even poor preachers may be able to stage an overt challenge to the dominance of the established Church. Conversely, a dominant social group may prefer to suggest future deference by adopting the symbols and stance of a subordinate group, as we shall see in the chapter on George IV in Edinburgh.

Significations are greatest in the area of residual power, for the passage of time affords an important means whereby significant events may be assessed and refined into symbols to be read by different interests distributed throughout the social structure. In general, it is easier for conservative spectacle to convince through expressions of residual power for, by definition, the dominant class



has realized its goals more successfully. The same advantage may be accrued to groups whose underlying ideology is not supported by the ruling class, for, so long as its advocacy means, in effect, a demand for the maintenance of the status quo, the spectacle will be conservative. This breadth of resources is one of the reasons why the monarchy can stage an event like the investiture of the Prince of Wales. For whilst it was claimed to be legitimate because of a long tradition, in fact it appears to have been largely an original presentation utilising symbols of residual power. The use of images of the past by those mounting conservative spectacle may sometimes be met with resistance, but, in the case of progressive spectacle, evidence in the form of history is necessarily a threat, or, in some degree, a challenge to the established interest. For each new ideology must embrace explanations of past events consistent with the demands articulated in it and, quite frequently, this account and the dominant one diverge widely. Nevertheless, the history of progressive groups is likely to be patchier for, on the one hand, success is elusive and it is rare for failure to be legitimated, typically as martyrdom, within the dominant ideology. Thus rejection of the claims of conservative organizers as at many early eighteenth-century hangings did not equal acceptance of the claim for heroic status so much as the 'fight to provide decency for the dead and' adds Linebaugh, 'to restore peace to the living in the bitterness of their loss'.<sup>13</sup>

Potentiality is, in certain respects, easier for progressive groups to portray than their conservative counterparts, for, in order to demand an expansion of justice, typically specific claims have to be made and arguments in support articulated. As a result, much ingenuity may be found amongst socialist political groups as regards

banners, orchestrated slogan shouting and hand-held properties. Naturally, in comparison with, say, the Lord Mayor's show, even the most colourful Anti-Nazi League demonstration may not compare well except that the former's power is still largely residual for the floats contain novelties associated with old ideologies whereas the anti-fascist movement is making infinitely more radical demands which necessarily have to be staged with some degree of originality. However freshness of approach may be negatively sanctioned for, in certain epochs, the call for a return to traditional approaches has dominated even progressives. For example, those organizing behind the notion of extensions of the franchise in the eighteenth-century often beseeched opponents to recollect Saxon precedent when, it was claimed, free men had the vote.<sup>14</sup>

Although we may recognize differences between conservatives and progressives, consistency is always a central ideological concern, so the powerful effect of spectacle rests, very much, on the ability of the organizers to achieve this. For progressive groups, there is a severe likelihood that inconsistencies and incoherencies will arise from controversy between subordinate interests themselves in competition for a power neither have. Hence differences between the TUC and certain sections of the women's movement at the Pro-abortion rally in 1980 had a direct effect on the form and thus effectiveness of the event. In these circumstances, power may be seen to be fragmented and, therefore, unable to enforce the threat implicit in the event. Even if the form taken by the spectacle is unified, the use of a symbol with rich implications by a subordinate group does not necessarily give a true picture of their power. The swastikas borne by members of the National Front may frighten onlookers but the gap in credibility between the image and the actual strength

of fascists in Britain is equally important. Conservative spectacle cannot escape the problem of consistency for each event is an attempt to renew cultural hegemony which may, also take place at a time when legitimation is problematic. Similarly, the analogic element in the ideology is important for the actual enactment by the governing class of crucial roles, as at coronations, has implications for the expression of power, both residual and potential. The danger that the high degree of stylization will suggest a completely imaginary power is prevented by the living presence of the rulers. Thus potentiality may be demonstrated by the class which actually governs helping to fudge the picture so as to suggest their literal involvement in all aspects of the achievements being celebrated. The totality and universality of their power is demonstrated; the virtue of continuity becomes a living reality and the continued presence of the governing class points to a secure future. Not even the most nationalistic subordinate group can compete in exactly the same way.

## II

The examples above indicate that spectacle is often an element in the practices of social movements, thus studies in this area may be taken as a useful basis from which to pursue the expansion of our definition so as to embrace cultural distinctions. Charles Tilly in From Mobilization to Revolution remarks that 'at any point in time, the repertoire of collective actions available to a population is surprisingly limited', in which context, spectacular forms only occupy some of the categories.<sup>15</sup> Tilly goes on to enumerate the factors which determine this repertoire: 'the standards of rights and justice prevailing in the population that govern the acceptability of the components of various possible types of collective act-

ion [although] they do not necessarily govern the particular form of action'. In addition to legal and conventional restrictions, there are particular economic and political conditions which Tilly lists as 'the daily routines of the population', as a local, rural economy; 'the population's internal organization', for example, associational; 'accumulated experience with prior collective action' and, finally, 'the pattern of repression of collective action' which affects both dominant and subordinate groups.<sup>16</sup> It will be clear from Tilly's observations that spectacle only arises within social orders with the necessary technical and organizational means to mount large scale, pre-arranged events. Similarly, the likelihood of non-routine expressions of power being mounted are more or less great depending upon factors such as the stability of the social system, itself turning on the type of economic relations. Thus, we might expect that primitive agricultural communities in Africa may well work undisturbed by internal tension for so long that the customary agricultural and familial ceremonies serve adequately the needs of both ruler(s) and dominated so far as maintenance of their 'rights' are concerned. The pattern of repression, to which Tilly refers, suggests, not only unequal distribution of material and ideological resources amongst dominant and subordinate groups, but that spectacle production in general will be subject to constraint. Hence suppression by a ruling elite may take the form of bans on all spectacle, monopoly of production of large-scale events by one class or a section/sections of the ruling class, permission for all classes to produce certain kinds of spectacle and so on. Overall, normative and legal constraints related to symbolic expressions of power are mediated by the actual distribution of power within the social structure. Spectacle is, then, a class and historically specific form.

### III

Because spectacle is a socio-historical mode, it is appropriate to make a specific study of this general formation. We shall, therefore, be examining the types of spectacle which were created during the period c1780 to 1832 i.e. the British Industrial Revolution, a brief historical overview of which follows. Prior to a consideration of the operational concepts to be utilised in the later studies, we shall discuss the prerequisites for the creation of spectacle during the Industrial Revolution.

The development of spectacle at this time (necessarily included in which is the right to mount such events) was largely an aspect of the wider class struggle taking place. The proletarianization of the lower class and politicization of the middle class both took place within the context of the continuing domination of the nobility. Nevertheless, profound structural changes took place. There was, in general, a shift from routine, customary festivals toward deliberately called events as the agrarian, communal, Church of England yearly round gave way to an urban, associational/class, residentially dispersed and secular mode of living. The indirect power relation of the centralized state and pluralism within religion came to predominate over local, visible power relations and the monopoly of the Anglican Church. Radical changes in the populations internal organization were called for as a result of the establishment of the capitalist economy; the lower class were proletarianized and began to group together as wage-earners. At the same time, the middle class increasingly perceived themselves as consumers and tax payers and, as such, made collective claims via associations. The ruling class began gradually to exercise more discrete domination in urban areas, continued conferring in Parliament as well as exercising

influence throughout the state but having, probably, the lowest number of formal organizations because of the congruence of state and ruling class interests. Harmony between the state and dominant class was not always complete but it was sufficient for their accumulated experiences of spectacle organization to stand the ruling class in good stead, particularly as other classes formed associations and claimed the right to engage in the spectacle producing side of the ideological battle. The upsurge of working class created spectacle directed at laying symbolic claim to power in many established institutions, state agencies, local authorities and government provoked repressive responses on the part of the ruling class.

Out of containment sometimes arose innovation, so even the pattern of repression helped mould spectacle into a praxis, a potentially powerful expressive weapon in the struggle for insight amongst progressive forces. For extension of and innovation within the existing forms of spectacle was the rule during the epoch of industrialization as new social formations were forced to direct their energies at equally novel opponents. Furthermore, even within the dominant and subordinate groups, changed relationships between the interest groups hastened innovation. Nevertheless, continuity in spectacle may be detected for pre-industrial interests continued to be influential in the social system to the extent that the use of established forms should be seen not necessarily as proof of the presence of such groups amongst the organisers of events but rather of the pervasiveness of cultural influences. To summarize, norms and values associated with class specific conduct, new class formations, working and middle class associations, the increase in and change in the type of material, ideological and cultural resources and the pattern of repression found precise expression in each spectacle.

In turning our attention to the necessary conditions for spectacle production during the Industrial Revolution, we shall discuss three parliamentary acts whose significance, for our purposes, lies not only in their identification of progressive spectacle, but in the articulation of a general notion of spectacle. For all classes and interests involved in the conflicts over spectacle came to recognize its implications in the ideological struggle for power. On the one hand, the mounting of this type of event by working class groups and/or others acting in their interests, at best semi-legal, was necessarily perceived as a challenge to the dominant interests. Conversely, the attempt to maintain a monopoly of spectacle by the state, at local and national level, through various means, the chief of which was the right to sole spectacle production, not infrequently led to the exercise of coercive powers. The degree to which the struggle was identified manifests itself in a number of legislative acts, exemplified in the thirty year enactment of the Seditious Meetings Bills of 1795, 1817 and 1819. Whilst these bills were chiefly aimed at organized lower class groups, today, they are telling documents in an analysis of the formation and development of a cultural form, for they trace an increasingly sophisticated grasp of both the ideological and material struggles for domination. This may be demonstrated initially by pointing to the differences in the titles of the three bills, whereas in 1795, it was merely designed to control 'Seditious Meetings', by 1817 the act came to include 'Clubs and Societies' and, two years later embraced 'Assemblies'. It is true that this last act was not, apparently, directed toward the repression of 'Clubs and Societies', suggesting, at first glance, that they had been effectively dealt with two years previously. That this was not, in fact, the case was recognized by the government



for it is noteworthy that a number of sections in the 1819 Act were passed bearing oblique reference to the organizations.

Returning to the 1795 Bill, it is immediately apparent that the ruling class identified two elements in 'Meetings' which continued to act as the bases for legislation directed against progressive spectacle. Similarly, the experience gained in examining lower class activity was put to good use by some state institutions, for example the monarchy, in organizing their own spectacles. In 1795, attempts to control the ideological content of meetings and debates were made by defining areas of legally permissible discourse. The bill stated that 'any person' would be subject to punishment

who shall at such meeting propound or maintain any proposition for altering anything by law established, otherwise than by the authority of King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, or shall wilfully and advisedly make any propositions, or hold any discourse for the purpose of inciting and stirring up the people to hatred and contempt of his Majesty, or the Government or Constitution of this realm as by law established.<sup>17</sup>

The parameters of discourse were defined in such a way as to prevent the articulation of alternative claims to rule. At the same time, ideological hegemony was further enhanced by banning alternative modes of describing the power structure. By licensing locations of meetings, it was hoped to forestall any untoward claims and assure legitimate domination. In both cases, close supervision by the executive arm of the law was meant to ensure the effectiveness of the bill.

However, by 1817, it was clear the existing ruling class believed its legitimacy was being severely tested, for this second act concentrated on further controls over locations and also introduced a new element, namely legislation directed at preventing the formation and development of organizations. Two years later, it was evident



to the government that they were not merely dealing with 'Meetings, Clubs and Societies' which, although increased in number beyond belief amongst the subordinate groups, were, at least, a form established in the eighteenth century, but with a wholly new phenomena. Lord Castlereagh, a government Minister, declared that 'the meetings were quite an innovation upon all the habits, customs, and prejudices of the country'.<sup>18</sup> Consequently a new tack was adopted, the organizations were ignored and the 'Assemblies' were attacked, for the movers of this bill recognized the commitment to and formation of a new ideology of mass mobilization with the concomitant move to visible expressions of power. To combat this innovation, the government attempted to control the conditions necessary for spectacle, for this was, in part, with what they were dealing, and take steps to prevent the creation of its more progressive forms. The challenge to paternal rule, whose effectiveness largely rested on locally enforced domination over relatively isolated social units was responded to by preventing anyone outside the particular parish or township having a part in convening or attending any kind of meeting and limiting county meetings to freeholders. This section of the bill had the effect of restricting the powers of autonomous organizations and, in this regard, further ideological counteraction was initiated.

It was during the same series of debates that 'the most pernicious practice of itinerant orators'<sup>19</sup> was most dwelt upon. The intended result of introducing this new form of an old devil, the self-determining workman or woman, was to undermine the legitimacy of autonomous lower class leadership. It suggested that workers taking to the platform were immoral, comical and, at best, slightly cranky, not to mention insane. Canning, for example, spoke of

'ambulatory tribunes of the people', claimed that 'their rostrum was pitched, sometimes here, sometimes there, according to the fancy of the mob, or the patience of the magistrates' and shared 'a sort of political ventriloquism'.<sup>20</sup> During the same period, an MP referred

to 'bodies of the people ... called together by mountebanks whose only title was their impudence and folly' and Sidmouth spoke, not of speeches, but 'harangues'.<sup>21</sup> As with any ideology, there was some

evidence which could be brought to bear in support of the government's argument. Bamford, a Lancashire radical, describes how, as a result of the attacks on Clubs and Societies, the working class' desire for political leadership could be more easily exploited by 'a set of orators who made a trade of speechifying' for 'he who produced the greatest excitement, the loudest cheering, and the most violent clappings, was the best orator, and was sure to be engaged, and well paid'.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, the concern of the ruling class was not to provide effective leadership for their opponents but rather to persuade them that the ability to lead was, indeed, a skill peculiar to the aristocracy and mysteriously passed from father to son. Arguments about inherited ability demonstrated the awareness of the nobility, in particular, of the value of experience in mounting spectacles; it was a skill which they were not anxious to share. Much of what was deemed 'ability and experience' however, could be more usefully explained as control of unlimited means and, in this connection, the section limiting attendance at meetings, etc to those living in the immediate locality had, as one of its aims, the maintenance of existing control over resources as well as the prevention of the development of alternative sources. For, as Mr Scarlett, the Judge at the post-Peterloo trial of Henry Hunt, said,

meetings ... known to the Constitution, and known to the practice of former ages, have been meetings either of counties or of towns, of corporations, of particular districts, or of particular classes of individuals united by one common interest in the pursuit of one common object ... But I never heard ... that it is a part, or ever was a part, of the law and constitution of this land that any individuals, be they who they may, should have a right to assemble all the people of England in one place, there to discuss public grievances or the nature of the Constitution ... and persons so assembled by such means, and with such objects, never can be a lawful assembly, by the constitution and law of any country on the face of the earth.<sup>23</sup>

The sections controlling location and attendance demonstrated the awareness of the ruling class that spectacle served the interests of the dominant group and that it should continue to do so. The legitimacy of local rule was emphasised and the act was designed specifically to favour the entrenched interests of the nobility, who had a near monopoly of spectacle at this time, anyway. Canning, at that time President of the Board of Control, summed up the position thus: 'to bring together the inhabitants of a particular division, or men sharing a common franchise, is to bring together an assembly, of which the component parts act with some respect and awe of each other'.<sup>24</sup> Those sections which dealt with the preservation of legitimate domination were the same as those which discussed social control. The presence of agents of social control rested upon their rights to receive prior notice and attend meetings. As pre-planning is inherent in spectacle, prior notice need not be a constraint but when it is also borne in mind that these events take place in social systems with unequal distributions of power, then the law has a different meaning. Prior notice to the magistrates and yeomanry would hardly need to be given in anything other than formal terms when the same individuals or their associates were also engaged in preparations for the spectacle. For, as F M L Thompson points out, 'retired men of sufficient landed wealth, professional men, and men

of old families, these were the preferred categories for J.P.s' who also 'might take part as officers in the annual turnout and exercises of the county's military force, whether militia, yeomanry or volunteers'.<sup>25</sup> Thus the right to attend of any policing agency was often a purely formal indication of the state's intention of supervising all activity. But, as such agents existed so as to preserve established property rights, it will be evident that the presence of policing units could only really benefit the largest property owners, regardless of who was organizing the spectacular event. Similarly, a policy decision could be taken to exclude certain events from the 'prior notice' requirement, undermining the apparently altruistic work of the policing agents as crowd controllers. For, in these cases, the government was indifferent to the safety of the promoters or, indeed, of the participants and spectators.

The outline of legally permissible discourse given in the 1795 Act continued to be adequate throughout the lives of the bills; the only legitimate authorities were the King, Houses of Lords and Commons, 'in Parliament assembled', which clause was most vital for it contained both the unfranchised majority and forestalled any autocratic dreams of the monarch. Furthermore, love and fear of the King, Government and Constitution were to be proclaimed and subjects encouraged to act on the basis of the justness of these beliefs. Spectacles whose target group was outside these authorities were not necessarily favoured but most of them seem to have been connected with religious matters and Christianity had lost its power to propose an ideology which was consistently opposed to the interests of the status quo.

Progressive spectacle was not really an issue until the 1819 Act for until the end of the war, lower class ceremonies had been largely

reserved for conventional occasions such as election victories, themselves typically products of alliances within Whig terms. This third act was the first to forbid attendance with arms, 'banners, flags or other ensigns, or emblems' and was, therefore, also directed toward those members of the upper class who had made use of novel significations at county meetings.<sup>26</sup> In October, 20,000 had attended a county meeting convened in York which Lord Castlereagh subsequently declared was 'the first county meeting which had been disgraced with all those emblems of flags and drums which had characterised assemblies of a different description'. The forbidden properties, the noble lord went on to suggest, were 'borrowed from the worst days of France, and had conduced most essentially to the progress of the Revolution in that country'.<sup>27</sup> Thus the legitimacy of the hegemony over spectacle established by the ruling class could only be maintained, it was argued, on the basis of a monopoly of forms. It was not simply that some kind of progressive challenge of a particular political strategy was being made but alternative and/or oppositional cultural modes were in danger of being made legitimate through acceptance of their validity by sections of the dominant interests. For, any symbols, other than those directly expressive of the power of established institutions, came within the government's attempts at cultural control. In addition to the general resistance to independent cultural production, the concern with military typology, in particular, arose from the dominant class's habitual fear of insurrection.

The preceding discussion has attempted to identify the prerequisites for the creation of spectacle, progressive or conservative, during the Industrial Revolution. Organization must be both practically and theoretically possible; that is the class or group must

have sufficiently favourable conditions in terms of resources, such as legality and time, itself, in part, a product of recognition by the authorities, and it is obligatory for organized, as opposed to spontaneous action to be practiced. Another requirement is a certain kind of ideology which legitimates one's own spectacle only, or that can also accept all or some productions mounted by one's opponent(s). Thus during the period under consideration, we have the belief in rule via some degree of instruction in the shape of demonstration and show based on hierarchical views of 'human nature'. An alternative conception of struggle was to terrorize one's adversary through symbolic display because one or both sides did not accept democratic modes. Another use for spectacle was to present a plea for 'rights' or justice, not infrequently articulated in religious terms, because of a lack of political power. Thus the potential for spectacle was considerable, for Britain was in transition with collectivist ideologies contesting paternalist beliefs and the weakness of individualists forcing them to mount visible claims involving large-scale mobilization.<sup>28</sup> A claim of legitimacy will necessarily be included within the ideology but this must take place concretely as a bid for choice over location and personnel, both convening and attending the event. The organizers must be able, at the least, to take part in determining what role, if any, the agents of social control will adopt. Rhetorical and symbolic articulation of the basis of its existing power and claims for the future must be contained within the ideology.

#### IV

Having given some account of the conditions under which spectacle



was produced between 1780 and 1832, we shall seek to expand some of the terms introduced in the preceding summary. The expression, organizer refers to the group or groups producing the spectacle, sometimes individuals acting in a personal capacity are involved but this is atypical since the scope of these events and need to attract unlimited numbers involves, in the main, group commitment to the spectacle. Examples of organizers in the epoch of industrialization were the Army, Officers of the Crown, religious sects and reform associations. The capacity for and experience of producing spectacles varied between the organizing bodies involved which may be seen in comparing methods and how far special sub-organizations especially devoted to producing spectacle existed. Thus, in the case of Nelson's state funeral, most of the work fell to one of the Crown departments, the College of Arms, already well-versed in the procedures to be followed for specific magnificent events. Not only that but the majority of organizations commanded to be present already had uniforms, routines and so on suitable for precisely this kind of occasion. Hence, we find that the Yeomanry and Volunteers could be informed that their Commander in Chief 'dispenses with any honours being paid to him', that they should present arms as the corpse passes, officers to salute and throughout the procession occasional muffled drum rolls and dirges to be played.<sup>29</sup> Yet, in the case of the Bishop Blaize festival held in Bradford in 1811, not only was it a revival by the woolmasters of an ancient event, but there were no organizations devoted to the production of showy public display. However, the trade clubs did have experience of organizing amongst themselves in order to confront the combined masters and, furthermore, the employers had, for the most part, passed through a trade club by virtue of having to serve an apprentice-

ship.<sup>30</sup> Finally, small-scale celebrations had taken place in the town previously. But, in contrast, with permanent offices devoted to spectacular display, or clubs with internal histories of mounting such events, there were the major political ceremonies, largely associated with radical election victories; for which, as Thompson remarks 'each great occasion was planned by a special committee, which arranged for the order of the procession, its route, the appropriate favours and slogans to be displayed, the disposition of the bands and banners'.<sup>31</sup> In this last instance, expertise is much less likely to be passed down through nepotistic patronage, unlimited resources permitting the maintenance of permanent offices or regular opportunities to accumulate the necessary knowledge.

However experience which could be of value was gathered by groups who only later in their development turned to spectacle, typically of the progressive kind. In this regard, the religious associations were of most significance as they were the only bodies outside the state able to coordinate at a national level. The Methodist Church, up to about the end of the eighteenth century, was organized on the basis of local classes whose leaders met quarterly; the classes, grouped into districts or circuits, were largely coordinated by itinerant preachers originally directed by Wesley and then later through Conference. The importance, as regards the creation of progressive spectacle, was the potential in the system for amalgamation of small local groups, whilst, at the same time, strengthening personal bonds. Similarly, unpaid, voluntary workers were employed most effectively. The Methodist Church was, in the main, an authoritarian body but other groups adopted elements of its structure, reforming it into democratic modes to enable committees at all levels to take decisions, sometimes of a policy nature. Thus the Union Society formed at



Stockport in 1818 which subsequently played a prominent part at Peterloo was organized on the following lines: the town was divided into twelve sections, each of which was divided into classes for purposes of fund-raising and education. The sections were each governed by a three-monthly revolving committee and all Union committees and officials were assigned tasks on a rotational basis. Likewise, the Union sent an elected representative to London so as to act with those sent to the capital from other towns.<sup>32</sup> It was not simply the voluntary nature of the Union Society which suggested its non-elitist structure for the Honourable Artillery Company, a Volunteer Corps based in London, excluded from election all those other than Freemen. Furthermore various offices were confined to Aldermen and Sheriffs of the City of London and the statutory contributions from even the most humble member helped keep the Volunteers a relatively exclusive body.<sup>33</sup>

Symbolic expressions of power are not always favoured by organizers whether pursuing specific aims or merely seeking to reaffirm dominance, even when conditions in the wider society do not preclude mounting such displays. Thus, Hibbert in describing the banquet held on the day of George IV's coronation, remarks that it was 'the last coronation banquet ever to be given in England'.<sup>34</sup> Yet enormous sums continued to be expended for this particular ritual so, it is possible that excessive expenditure in order to provide exclusive entertainment for the ruling class was deemed inappropriate at a time when the unity of the nation was an important ideological point. Likewise, the unstructured revivalist meetings held in the specially built Bandroom in Manchester at the end of the eighteenth century by a Methodist faction were resisted by the bureaucracy, although at a previous stage in the development of the Society large-scale meet-

ings had been the norm. Whilst the Methodists were certainly not in a more secure position as regards the attitude of the government and Church of England, opposition to the revivalist means of recruitment was largely a result of the increase in middle-class interest groups within the Society.<sup>35</sup> The issue of revivalist methods and the Methodist Church is also an example of the connection between modes of internal organization and the form of spectacle adopted. Hence we find a not atypical connection between the rejection of ordained ministers and/or lay hierarchy and emotionally extravagant meetings with no structure or leadership. Similarly, individuals' skills may be directly employed, hence the 'discipline' shown by the demonstrators at Peterloo was a consequence of, amongst other things, the presence of 'Army veterans who became drill-sergeants'.<sup>36</sup> However, perhaps the most important factor in determining the type of spectacle to be presented was the nature of the target group(s) and its attitude toward the claims embodied in the display.

The target group, as was pointed out above, constitutes the interest group, class or authority to whom the spectacle is directed. It is not, however, essential for the intended recipients to be present in their entirety, or, indeed, at all for them to act as targets. As a result the spectators i.e. those who actually line the streets or attend the meeting, will not be treated as a separate group for the purposes of this discussion. Rather we shall subdivide the target group and designate state institutions, such as the Church of England and the government, as well as other important established bodies like the Methodist Church primary target groups. The population as a whole may be the hoped for audience for any spectacle but, more typically, organizers will be aiming to influence specific

groups such as the newspaper-reading public or those living in houses lining the route of a procession. This latter group comprises the secondary target group.

The primary target group typically assumes greater importance for those mounting progressive spectacle as these bodies are best able to respond to specific claims requiring some kind of legislation. However, even in cases where the organizers of the event were mainly concerned with secondary target groups, the authorities' position was still of great importance for, in a social system which does not permit conflict to be expressed 'without questioning the legitimacy of the institutions themselves' then, as Oberschall remarks, 'the very act of making demands will be interpreted as an attack upon basic principles'.<sup>37</sup> The violent response to the Peterloo demonstration is a case in point. For those presenting conservative spectacle, the primary target group tended to be less significant because, in many cases, the event was organized by official bodies. Thus the burial of Nelson involved the mobilization of the monarchy, armed forces, Houses of Commons and Lords. Furthermore, the purpose of conservative spectacle being to depoliticize meant that it was most likely to be presented by, or on behalf of the authorities.

The secondary target group is, however, typically much less cohesive, more significant during the actual spectacle and calling for different forms of mobilization. Whilst the class distribution of this category varies for any one spectacle, its interest must be aroused unlike that of the primary target group who must take note as a consequence of office. As a result, the mediums of communication are extremely important in helping to form the secondary target group. An unforeseen benefit derived from the discriminatory stamp duty was the creation of newspaper-reading groups, as Gregg ob-

serves with respect to the Political Register for 'although it was consequently too expensive for individual workers, many clubbed together to buy it, and it found a circulation among wealthier Radicals and an appreciative audience in public houses and other places where it was read aloud'.<sup>38</sup> Organizers seeking to animate the interest of a secondary target group, do not, typically, wish to encourage the presence of opponents but this aim can be frustrated by the inherent need to attract and inform large numbers of people. In this respect, mounting a conservative spectacle presents fewer problems for its tendency to exclude specific articulation of claims and the prevalence of support given by the authorities or powerful interests makes the creation of a conforming, or, at least, not openly disagreeing secondary target group easier. However, disclaiming validity for some or all claims incorporated within the spectacle does not, of course, mean that the power which it expresses fails to be communicated as Archibald Prentice makes clear in his comments on Peterloo. Prentice was a signatory of a statement issued shortly after the incident wherein it was claimed that 'the undersigned, without individually approving of the manner in which the meeting held at St Peter's, on Monday the 16th of August, was constituted, hereby declare, that we are fully satisfied, by personal observation or undoubted information, that it was perfectly peaceable'.<sup>39</sup> And, indeed, Prentice's report of the meeting is full of praise for 'the picturesque effect of the pageant' and the 'orderly' behaviour of the crowd.<sup>40</sup>

The ratio of importance between the primary and secondary target groups varies according to how far the spectacle embodies an overt challenge to the status quo. Thus the primary target may be of less significance to organizers of progressive spectacle notwithstanding the implicit threat to the monopoly of cultural production. Conservative

spectacle tended to focus upon secondary target groups because the events were mounted either by the authorities, or ad hoc groups comprising officials and influential individuals. Further, as we shall see below, the implication of much conservative ideology was that the dominant class had the duty or right to mount large public shows for their subordinates whose responsibilities were limited to, at best, insignificant roles. And, in many cases, legitimation of established rule involved conforming, in practice, to these ideas.

Later in this chapter, we shall identify some major spectacle-producing interests and consider the implication of inequalities in the distribution of material and ideological resources necessary to create public display. We shall also reflect in more detail upon the connection between organizers, their aims and target groups. Meanwhile, we shall go on to examine the divisions between people at the spectacle itself. As will be clear from the above, the target group(s) need not be present in its entirety during the spectacle but some or all of the following categories will be involved in the display: major activists, minor activists, participants and spectators. The categories will be used to identify levels of activity at any given event. Thus the precise application of the terms for each of the analyses in the study will be determined empirically, for each event must take its place as an example of one of the variable social forms which fall within the bounds of spectacle. Nevertheless, a few general remarks may be made; there is no necessary ratio between the four divisions whose populations will, in many cases, be fluid for cross-overs from one section to another frequently occur. However, we may say that the spectators comprise individuals who have either no specific attitude to the event or make no demonstration of their opinion. These are the people who stood and

idly watched the Corporation of the City of London arrive in 'Grand State procession' at Carlton House in order to present a petition to the Prince Regent on 9 December, 1816.<sup>41</sup> The largest amount of work at the event falls upon the major activists, instances of which would be the Prince Regent at the Hyde Park review on 22 July, 1801<sup>42</sup> or Thomas Attwood, the Chairman of the huge meeting on reform held in Birmingham on 7 May, 1832.<sup>43</sup> Minor activists could embrace the men who led the sections of one hundred marchers making up the procession which entered St Peter's Field on 16 August, 1819<sup>44</sup> or the praying companies at the camp meeting on Mexborough Common held on 3 June, 1821.<sup>45</sup> The camp meeting, held by Primitive Methodists, attracted 10,000 to a day of preaching, exhortation and prayer. Much prayer was led collectively by one or other of the sixteen praying companies each of which was drawn from members of a single chapel. The wool-staplers on horseback, each caparisoned with a fleece, riding to commemorate Bishop Blaize<sup>46</sup> and 'the genteel persons of both sexes, dressed almost without exception in deep mourning' who attended Nelson's funeral are examples of participants.<sup>47</sup> Because the means whereby sections are identified varies both between and within spectacles, the overlap of spectators and participants within the broader target groups is also fluid. However, anyone not directly engaged in making prior arrangements for the event retains their status as a target, even if the form permits a switch into an active role at the event itself. Hence, at a camp meeting held at Oaken Gates, Shropshire on 19 May, 1822, at the end of the day, there were about one thousand people gathered round one of the preaching stands. 'A praying service was held for these and after some time a general cry for mercy was heard among them, but how many got liberty could not be fully ascertained.'<sup>48</sup> The spectators in 'crying for mercy'



became participants and those who got 'liberty' i.e converted, were thrust into more active involvement by becoming the centre of attention for spectators and minor activists like the praying companies. In fact, the camp meeting is an example of a form of spectacle created in order to facilitate to the maximum the transformation of spectators into activists. Similarly, organizers and activists may not be one and the same but frequently are when the spectacle is mounted by a group challenging dominant interests. The difference is chiefly a reflection of limited bureaucratic and technical resources, so that shortage of time and money make devolution of responsibility difficult.

It is possible to identify groups of activists, participants and spectators because conventions, however widely defined, exist as to the most appropriate behaviour for demonstrating one's attitude toward the central ideological premise(s). Later, we shall consider the implications of the stance of the spectators for the organizers' assessment of the effect of the spectacle but, at this juncture, we shall briefly turn our attention to the lines of demarcation between the four sections. Spectacle embraces such a wide variety of forms that the degree of fluidity between the sectors may vary to the degree that activists, participants and spectators can intermix, even interchange or, at the other extreme, be divided by physical objects. There does, however, appear to be a connection between the manner of division and the progressive or conservative nature of the event. Hence, the state mustered enough volunteers to 'line the streets, in two ranks from St Paul's Churchyard to the Admiralty' for Nelson's funeral procession.<sup>49</sup> Yet the Crown offices' apparent anxiety to control the press of the crowd so as to enable them all to have a proper opportunity to see the cavalcade was not shared by the autho-



rities when another large horde, something like 140,000 thronged to Birmingham to watch 125,000 members of Political Unions from all over Britain parade through the streets, their power similarly enhanced with banners and music, to attend a pro-reform meeting.<sup>50</sup> The presence of policing agencies cannot be explained solely by recourse to arguments about benign assistance to the crowd. The use, for example, of the militia to separate the spectators from the participants at Royal events was probably a convention aimed at enhancing the power and splendour of the presentation, but it also served to physically control the crowd, some sections of it more than others, so as to prevent any damage to the highly rehearsed spectacle. Dread of the antagonism of lower class onlookers was not always the dominant factor, for mobbing, in general, could threaten the safety of the activists who were typically drawn from the most powerful social groups. Hence, divisions between categories at progressive spectacles were rarely enhanced by policing agencies, since the state was not necessarily more committed to protecting the activists and, in the event of intervention by the police or yeomanry, all were harrassed indiscriminately.

So far we have focused on parades for which the audience remains stationary in order to view a moving central action. But spectacles confined to a single place, such as a field or town square, also exhibit variations in divisions implying political as well as aesthetic considerations. For example, the celebration of the victory at Waterloo held in Halifax ran over several days one of which was devoted to 'the festival for the people'. A large crowd, controlled by the local militia in conjunction with 'a numerous cavalcade of gentlemen on horseback', were gathered in a field. Those who could afford them, as was typical, hired windows at establish-

ments overlooking the field. Here, a spectacle for the rich was created out of an event apparently aimed solely at gratifying the poor. The aesthetic effect of the ox-roasting was made possible largely because of subtle economic differences among subordinates upheld by the use of charity by the rich. Thus two thirds of the meat went to charity school children and country people unable to afford tickets for public dinners held in nearby inns whilst the remainder, made into a mess prepared on the platform, was doled out to various individuals, presumably beggars and the like, gathered around it. In addition, rousing choruses of patriotic tunes were supplied by the militia band, rounding out the complete passivity of 'the people' and the exclusion of independent cultural forms associated with, for instance, song and dance.<sup>51</sup> Economic dominance was sometimes made explicit, as the following report in The Sun of the Nelson procession demonstrates.

Long before daylight yesterday morning the whole Metropolis might be fairly said to have been in motion. ... carriages were seen driving in all directions, with the families of persons of the first distinction, going to the most eligible situations. ... Groupes of men, women, and children, in a more humble situation of life, went to places where there was a more friendly or less costly accommodation to be found. ... even the poorest classes of the people felt themselves so much interested in the scene that they flocked together from every quarter endeavouring to get a place where they might have good standing-room in the street.<sup>52</sup>

Alternatively, the conventions were founded openly on class, so that one section of the procession was created by the College of Arms calling for volunteers from the nobility who were invited to send for tickets. The individuals concerned had to provide a carriage and uniform mourning for themselves as well as their servants.<sup>53</sup> The financial capacity needed to satisfy these requirements would not have been peculiar to the aristocracy, but the state's power, at that time, was firmly under the control of the landed interest.

V

Having passed under review some terms related to spectacle, we shall return to a few of the issues raised by the distinction made earlier between conservative and progressive spectacle. We shall, therefore, discuss the conditions under which progressive or conservative spectacle was mounted before considering the major spectacle-producing interests, the class of their personnel and of the target groups to which the displays were typically directed. As was stated above, conservative spectacle affirms a dominant ideology and structure of power across classes. Support for the dominant ideology, throughout the Industrial Revolution was to be found amongst all classes but, because of the particular ideological formation to which more attention will be given in the following chapter, spectacle production was confined almost entirely to the gentry and aristocracy. Hence, there was a close connection between conservative ideological content and the class of the organizers, regardless of the nature of the target group. Thus the Duke of Rutland and his staff organized the ceremonial reception of the Prince Regent on his arrival at Belvoir Castle on 4 January, 1814 for the benefit of the gentry, tenantry and, presumably, servants of the household.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, the entry of the high-court judge into the county town prior to the opening of the Assizes was directed much more toward subordinate groups, for the parade through the streets actually called for the direct participation of the gentry, as a contemporary observer noted.

The judges, upon their approach are received by the sheriff, and often by a great part of the wealthiest inhabitants of the county; the latter come in person to meet them, or send their carriages, with their richest liveries, to serve as an escort, and increase the splendour of the occasion.

They enter the town with bells ringing and trumpets playing, preceded by the sheriff's men, to the number of twelve or twenty, in full dress, armed with javelins.<sup>55</sup>

The description of the Judge's entry indicates the enormous resources available to the organizers of conservative spectacle. If we consider the expense involved, it will be apparent that formally it was borne by the individuals involved but, more typically, the corporation exploited the ratepayers and also benefited from the ability of office-holders to exact fees and so on. Likewise, the gentry perceived very well, in the main, the connection between their power and its frequent symbolic display. Furthermore, pre-planning and manipulation of policing agencies was almost entirely unfettered. Apart from being free from financial and other material constraints, established groups creating conservative spectacle were also able to exploit widely recognized cultural formations and rely on the broad acceptance of the legitimacy of their dominance. Because these organizers were under the least pressure to argue for the legitimacy of their claims, conservative spectacle normally placed the greatest emphasis on visual symbolism and least on verbal argument or the exercise of literate skills on the part of the spectators. Additionally, interpretation of or justification for particular symbols was typically unnecessary for the organizers and activists, as they tended to be drawn from a tradition whose conventions were recognized and deemed legitimate. In a later section, we shall be examining in more detail the symbolic content of both progressive and conservative spectacle.

Unlike conservative spectacle, there was some positive sanctioning of subordinate groups' involvement in creating progressive spectacle. In this regard, radical Methodists and other Non-Conformists, particularly Baptists, were successful in attracting discontented transitional groups, like domestic weavers, already grouped in single-industry communities. The religious sects argued for spiri-

tual equality and the rights of the collective. As Thompson states, in 1816 and 1817, 'the Primitive Methodists broke through into the framework-knitters' villages of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire' so that 'on Whit Sunday 1816, 12,000 were claimed at a camp-meeting in Nottingham Forest'.<sup>56</sup> Likewise, members of the ruling class could be mobilized through the dissemination of evangelical doctrines, although those who took a critical stance toward the status quo were more typically influenced by neo-paternalism, namely the advocacy of state intervention to ensure the maintenance of paternalist social relations in a free-market economy. The prominence of the ultra-Tory Marquess of Blandford at a pro-reform meeting held in Birmingham in July, 1830 can probably best be explained in the terms of support for a paternalist ideology.<sup>57</sup> There does not, however, appear to have been any joint aristocracy-artisan production, for the most radical conjunction of personnel was during the fight over the 1832 reform bill when certain sections of the gentry united with small businessmen. Thus the large London meetings held in October, 1831 were organized by, amongst others, a barrister, a draper, a gentleman and a coal-merchant.<sup>58</sup>

Notwithstanding the potential offered by progressive spectacle for the creative involvement of all classes, those occasions mounted by new subordinate groups asserting claims for power not previously exercised were most likely to have possibilities for the spectator to gain political insight. The novelty of the group's claims meant that both organizers and activists were under pressure to provide expositions of their beliefs and/or demands. In contrast, the ideological content of the spectacle was likely to be more difficult to 'read' due to the relative unfamiliarity of the signifiers. This dilemma may well be compounded by the great length of time often re-

quired when executing original work. Those mounting a progressive event faced a number of obstacles their conservative counterparts were spared. The state was likely to intervene either before or during the event, resulting in an incoherent presentation. The resources available to subordinate groups, in particular, were typically totally inadequate, for, even when the event was permitted to take place, lack of choice over location and/or route, uncertainties in connection with date and time, and so on made planning and execution fraught with difficulties. Hence, when a parish meeting of the inhabitants of Marylebone attracted so large a crowd that the original venue had to be abandoned, the authorities harried them from one London park to another on the grounds that Hyde Park was outside the boundaries of the parish. The meeting was finally convened in Regents Park after the people plus banners and emblems accompanied by a band had visited a total of three sites collecting more and more supporters as they went.<sup>59</sup>

Reference has already been made to some spectacle organizers, for instance religious associations and the judiciary. Although we shall make a more detailed survey of their involvement in spectacle throughout the Industrial Revolution in the following chapters, it is appropriate to make some general remarks at this point about the connection between the personnel of the organizers, goals pursued via spectacle and the target groups to which such displays were directed. The most powerful interests were state institutions but, 'in some cases', this meant the governing class who 'were able, almost, to dispense with a distinct and fully articulated state machinery and were themselves practically the state'.<sup>60</sup> As a result, the relationship between the state and ruling class, i.e. landowners and upper bourgeoisie, so far as spectacle production was concerned,



remained crucial throughout the period. For its duration, the increasingly centralized state tentatively queried the right of the ruling class to bypass or merely manipulate state institutions in particular those associated with parliamentary election. Hence the unsuccessful Freeholders Registration Bill of 1827 was designed to curb election expenses. Similarly, patently corrupt bodies, like Coventry Corporation, although undoubtedly conservative in intent, were not, it was felt by the Commons, always representative of the best long-term interests of the ruling class. The government began to limit some of the excesses of the nobility in order to more fruitfully conserve its interests but in no wise was it a progressive challenge. In the next chapter we shall be examining, in more detail, the implications of this strategy, particularly in the cases of the Church of England and monarchy. In effect, restrictions on political power meant even the landowning-class became less able to dispense with the state machinery when organizing events. Nevertheless, patronage and shared beliefs meant that direct application to state agencies was usually sufficient to gain acceptance of their own specific demands precluding the need for the ruling class to mount spectacle in order to manifestly challenge the status quo. As a result, the secondary target group was typically the end to which state and/or ruling-class organized spectacle was directed. This was the case even though the exigencies of the times called for a number of changes in state spectacle-producing agencies. Thus the de facto failure of the ideologues within the Church of England was eventually admitted when the Test and Corporation Acts as well as the Roman Catholic Relief Act were repealed.<sup>61</sup> Further, the judiciary had probably already ousted the Church for, as Hay comments, 'the secular mysteries of the courts had burned deep into the popu-



lar consciousness, and perhaps the labouring poor knew more of the terrors of the law than those of religion'.<sup>62</sup> Likewise, the depoliticization of the monarchy was hastened so that both the king and, to a lesser degree, the governing class gradually ceased to act as primary target groups for those mounting progressive spectacle.

Nevertheless, the monarchy, ruling class and developing middle class were the typical target groups of the most overtly political progressive spectacle. The middle class, meaning manufacturers, farmers and small employers, was the major secondary target group formed through associations and the expanding provincial press, leaving the king and aristocracy the role of primary targets. Mobilization embraced both the lower and middle classes with the aim of gaining radical reform of the political system. In contrast, subordinate groups, included in which were artisans, agricultural and factory labourers, etc., when creating progressive spectacle largely concentrated upon its pre-political formulations. Cries for justice and expressions of discontent typically find a religious outlet amongst oppressed groups lacking a coherent explanation of the material world and the means whereby it can be acquired. In these circumstances, metaphysical accounts are the most feasible, particularly as religious texts contain statements so generalized that almost any belief can be justified by recourse to the requisite quotations. Furthermore, the only organizations engaging the lower class which had anything like consistent opportunities to produce spectacle were the religious sects such as the Primitive Methodists and New Connexion who attempted to convert their own class and unite them behind doctrines whose chief (but not only) effect was to legitimize the market-place economy and the different behaviour called for within it. Their target group was almost wholly secondary,

created via word-of-mouth, placarding, mobilizing tiny, even more local, societies and exploiting kinship networks. Typically, at the primary level, these societies directed their claims toward the Methodist Church which responded by harrying them almost as much as the local authorities, lack of power rather than will limiting its effectiveness. However, in the majority of the instances quoted in this section, the organizers, having successfully seen their spectacle through to its conclusion turned their attention to the assessment of the responses made by both spectators and those other interests not present at the event. We shall then turn to a consideration of conventions surrounding public behaviour at spectacles.

## VI

In order for any kind of assessment to be made of the behaviour of the spectators as well as the organizers' hopes and expectations in this regard, it is necessary to gain some understanding of the norms and values surrounding public affirmation or disclaiming of support. The ideological basis of the spectacle may rest on any one of a number of explanations of the world, contained within which will be a view of the appropriate stance to be taken toward the power on display, even when the organizers may be happy to acknowledge the rights of other powers. Thus, until the end of the eighteenth century, the Methodist leadership thought in terms of active mass prosecution of their spiritual demands but opposed any similar moves with regard to the economic needs of their members.<sup>63</sup> Although established conventions may be adhered to by the spectators, individually held private views may be at odds with public behaviour. Hence a large crowd turned out to watch the procession mounted in Manchester to honour George IV's coronation and, according to Prentice, 'enjoy-

ed the spectacle and the holiday'. But the onlookers were conforming to minimal requirements and, in the main, refusing to participate in the event, as Prentice goes on to point out, for, 'so far as the procession was concerned, there was an absence of all those exhibitions of exuberant loyalty which used to be manifested on public occasions during the reign of the decency-observing George III'.<sup>64</sup>

Despite this stricture, if the spectators behave in such a way as to confirm the legitimacy of the power on display, the organizers may rightfully claim success. The degree to which those present do legitimate the expression of power is liable to debate for, on the one hand, conventions may be fluid and, on the other, competing interests do not necessarily accept each others definitions of success. Consequently, it is necessary to identify normative public behaviour, bearing in mind class and sex specific modes of conduct as well as variations arising from degrees of identificatory conduct and differences between kinds of spectacular event.

At spectacles mounted by the state or ruling class, even when new, or so occasional as to prevent any reliable customs being developed, norms of conduct, alongside customary and legal sanctions, both negative and positive, are most likely to be established in the popular consciousness. Even when the personnel of dominant institutions changes, the required attitudes of the social classes typically do not for continuity rests on more deeply entrenched beliefs. Consequently, the dissemination of the dominant ideology embraces the wider cultural area of social practice, namely the distinctive expression of assumptions, attitudes and feelings. Such practices are learnt but their transmission is less tangible than specific ideological claims. Hence, when George IV visited Ireland 'the people shouted' for, as a contemporary remarked, 'the Irish, it seems,

do not know how to hurrah or cheer; they have not had much practice in the expression of public joy'.<sup>65</sup> Here it is possible to detect a concern that conduct appropriate to a particular class should be adhered to and certainly those who accepted the dominant ideology of our period acquiesced in this. For the 'faintings and swoonings' Mrs Codrington, a naval captain's wife expected to witness in St Paul's during Nelson's funeral, whilst not occurring, were only available to a class of persons able to pay the price of a ticket.<sup>66</sup> However, in contrast to those events which excluded the lower class, when representatives of all classes were present, the demeanour of the middle and upper layers faded into insignificance partly as a consequence of their numerical weakness but also because they did not really constitute the principal object of attention. As a result, the middle and upper class spectators often viewed the occasion as a much wider event embracing the spectacle and the majority of the spectators. Thus Lady Bessborough, when describing the Nelson procession to a fellow aristocrat, remarked

amongst many touching things the silence of that immense Mob was not the least striking; they had been very noisy. I was in a House in Charing Cross, which look'd over a mass of heads. The Moment the car appear'd which bore the body, you might have heard a pin fall, and without any order to do so, they all took off their hats. I cannot tell you the effect this simple action produc'd; it seem'd one general impulse of respect beyond any thing that could have been said or contriv'd.<sup>67</sup>

It seems likely that, typically, expectations of the behaviour of the higher classes, so far as the organizers were concerned, related as much to their bearing toward the subordinate class as to the spectacle proper. Of course, the presence of the upper class does not always act as a constraining factor for, in 1814, when the Prince Regent went in procession to dine with the Lord Mayor he was 'greeted with hisses, groans and shouts of "Where's your wife? Love your

wife!"'.from the bystanders in the street.<sup>68</sup>

In the case of the Prince Regent's drive through London, there was not, according to Bryant, much doubt as to the kind of response he would receive. For all that, the spectators' attitude is quite likely to be in balance because, in some form or other, the spectacle incorporates the demonstration of power which must be positively acknowledged in order for the outcome to be successful. On the whole, the more explicit the claim, the easier it is to assess the nature of the response by the spectators. Thus, at a great meeting summoned in Kent in 1828 20,000 people gathered to hear the pros and cons of Catholic emancipation. The Protestants crowded on the left and the Catholics on the right, both parties were enclosed by wagons divided by farmers mounted upon horses and, beyond them the carriages of the freeholders were mustered. 'The whole scene', according to an eye-witness, 'presented a most extraordinary and impressive exhibition'.<sup>69</sup> A report from a journalist who attended the meeting demonstrates the clarity of the spectators' responses and the reasons why they could be so forthcoming.

A Mr Gipps proposed a Petition to the Legislature, stating the alarm of the Protestant free-holders of Kent at the proceedings of the Catholic Association, and praying the Legislature to adopt such measures as would best preserve entire the Protestant religion as established at the Revolution. 'A great uproar' arose from some remarks he made, and he had to change the topic. Lord Camden spoke in favour of the Catholics and was hissed. During Lord Darnley's speech the interruptions were very frequent; he was assailed with cries of 'Old prosy!' 'Stuff-nonsense!' 'Don't twaddle all day'. A Mr Shee spoke amid great interruption and cries of 'Off! Off!' and but little of his speech could be heard.<sup>70</sup>

The formal arena at Penenden Heath exhibits an awareness of the potential in such a debate situation, although the behaviour of the on-lookers meant it could not be exploited. However, there does not appear to be any parallel to be drawn between the ratio of spectator/participant involvement and the politicization/depoliticization of the

spectacle as may be seen when the Halifax ox-roasting is compared with the Oaken Gates camp meeting. Rather more general cultural considerations tend to prevail to which we shall be returning later in the chapter. Nevertheless, in comparing spectacle forms, it is apparent that the class division between say those who organized the ox-roasting and multitudes attending as participants is clearer and likely to remain so throughout the life of this type, whereas the class composition of those arranging the camp meeting in contrast to the individuals who gathered there is much closer facilitating a long-term exchange of personnel. There is, then, some likelihood that progressive spectacle furnishes greater opportunities for all social classes to be involved in organizing the same event.

So far as the actual behaviour of the spectators is concerned, the implications of their expressive activity has to be assessed within the context of the particular occasion for crowds tend to respond in conventional modes which change very little in comparison to the rapidity of certain technical developments. Hence bystanders at executions are just as likely to groan and hiss as those watching a royal procession, calling for an examination of their conduct within the context of the whole event.<sup>71</sup>

The purpose of the first part of this section has been to point up the diversity in spectator behaviour and to attempt to locate some of the reasons for and consequences of this. We shall move now to some consideration of the ideological bases from which organizers approached the task of assessing the effect of the event on both primary and secondary target groups and the material resources available to them. In attempting to read the impact of the display on primary and secondary target groups, both the organizers and, to a greater or lesser degree, the authorities derive the key from the

same cultural context. Whilst we have emphasised the generally conventional nature of spectator conduct, in certain instances, particularly those occasions with a considerable degree of originality in the presentation, the attitude of the spectators may not be readily apparent. Similarly, the onlookers' own confusion may compound the difficulties as at the London Corresponding Society's first open-air demonstration in Hackney on 24 October, 1793. 'Some thousands of supporters attended', Thompson records, 'together with the curious who were attracted by rumours that the French Jacobins had landed or that "Tom Paine was come to plant the tree of liberty"'.<sup>72</sup> At other spectacles, the problem may lie with the form which the presentation takes; it seems the greater the fluidity across the categories or potential for exchange, typically in the shape of intermixing, the more the likelihood of accurate assessment is diminished, as Jabez Bunting, a vociferous opponent of revivalism, noted in a pamphlet attacking the Bandroom faction of Manchester.<sup>73</sup> Although, in the case of the revivalist meetings, the issue is the form of control which should be established over those 'saved' at the events, it is also an example of the general problem of measuring the effect of the display on the spectator.

Having allowed for confusions arising from aspects of the forms taken by spectacle, we must now briefly consider the ideological mediation present when contemporaries analyze events. Regardless of the particular beliefs held by organizers, target groups and so on, appraisals of the spectacle are, to a greater or lesser extent, informed by the dominant ideology because, as Marx pointed out, 'the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force'.<sup>74</sup> There are a number



of implications we may draw from this statement by Marx; there is a tendency for ideas contained within conservative spectacle to be deemed just, even by those sympathetic to progressive spectacle. The dominance of one body of ideas has the potential for considerable effect on organizers of progressive events for it can limit the dynamic of the spectacle making it more reformist than perhaps was desired by supporters. Henry Hunt, for example, was the only leading radical who agreed to address the Spa Fields meeting of 15 November, 1816 and this was after he had substituted more moderate resolutions for those which the committee had proposed.<sup>75</sup> Likewise, the effect of the spectacle may not be quite what was envisaged as was the case after the 'Pilgrimage to York' took place. This was a rally organized by Oastler in order to prove that the Short Time campaign enjoyed mass support. In fact, it appears to have almost totally failed in that endeavour since, apart from disasters caused by poor organization and terrible weather, there was almost uniform ridicule from secondary target groups. Nevertheless, as Inglis observes, 'something in the event caught the imagination of those who attended it, so that it was soon to take on the aura of a legend'.<sup>76</sup> Reform, in this context, is taken to refer to a willingness to struggle for change within a social structure to which campaigners hold a broad commitment as opposed to the tactical exploitation of institutions over a period of time in order to completely transform them. Thus, we may consider the ideas expressed in the spectacle to be more or less advanced, depending upon how far they are part of a truly transforming perspective.

One of the pressures tending to push organizers toward a reformist stance is the greater need to offer explanation/justification of claims whereas those mounting and supporting conservative displays

can typically gain legitimacy on the basis of established norms. However, most significantly in the context of the over-all dominance of 'the ruling ideas' is the power of the governing class to define events as spectacular. That is, for example, the idea that there was any planning involved can be made preposterous by denigrating the spectacle as shabby or ill-prepared. Similarly, those who attend can be dismissed as present not to further legitimate claims or even illegitimate ones properly articulated but to pursue completely different aims. The case of the Blanketeers is instructive in this regard since it was designed solely as a march to London by Northern cotton workers in order to present a petition to the Prince Regent requesting the remedy of universal suffrage. Pauline Gregg's description conveys some of the planning and forethought involved.

Each man was to carry his petition wrapped in brown paper and tied to his right arm by a piece of tape. Blankets were to be carried for the six nights of the march to London, and so the marchers came to be called 'Blanketeers'.

The organization was careful and detailed. The marchers were divided into groups of a hundred, and these again into tens, each ten and each hundred having its leader. There was also a special group to deal with provisions. Different societies of workers and those who remained behind were to make contributions, according to their means, to the support of the marchers and their families.<sup>77</sup>

Nevertheless, the local magistrates were determined to define the event as insurrectionary and, as a result, the leaders were arrested at the rally held before the march started. Likewise, nearly two hundred men were arrested on the roads south of Manchester yet, finally no charges were pressed and all prisoners were released. Even without this kind of blatant distortion at the start of the march, no doubt its organizers would have come up against a different one later, namely press silence for clear publication of the details of the event is not incumbent upon any group other than the organi-

zers. For, even if some kind of pluralist system is in operation, the ideological dominance of the governing class ensures that the spectacle to which they lend support is the most accessible. Typically, this is not the consequence of some kind of conspiracy but rather of acquiescence in the depoliticization of public activity leading to an apparent lack of controversy which makes it easier for many different interests in primary and secondary target groups to identify with the displays. Thus at the beginning of 1821, the year of George IV's coronation, there was still considerable sympathy for Queen Caroline but in July witnesses like Walter Scott and Lord Colchester were able to agree with Lord Denbigh when he claimed 'the King was excitedly and most enthusiastically cheered, and seemed in the highest spirits'.<sup>78</sup> The prospect of a show temporarily dampened down prevailing opposition to the new royal incumbent, expectation was titillated by displays of coronation robes, sales of memorabilia, puffs in the press and the promise of a re-creation of the pageant at Drury Lane. It is probable that in the event of communication mediums being privately owned, conservative spectacle will be publicized in order to maintain or even increase sales. Furthermore, it is likely that their interests will be enhanced, if they can claim to be identifying with legitimate national preoccupations. Hence, it is not remarkable to find that throughout our period, government subsidies, in the form of advertisements, were distributed to amenable newspapers.<sup>79</sup>

However, when it comes to assessing the effect of the spectacle, ideological dominance does not necessarily provide the best conditions. For, particularly when open repression is current, the task of analyzing the implications of any one spectacle is much more difficult, even for those who support the regime and can, therefore,

rely on having the most favourable conditions by which to carry out the work. Whilst opponents of the government may be separated from the information whereby the effect of their demonstration of power can be assessed and concomitantly from their target groups, extreme distortion in the shape of censorship, secret police and so on makes the judgement of the results of conservative spectacle difficult, too. The fact, for example, that spies appear to have played some part in mobilizing for the Spa Fields meetings does not afford proof either of the lack of interest in organizing such events amongst progressive forces nor, incidentally, of the appeal of events like the coronation not calling for spies to gather onlookers. In other words, repression does not necessarily breed acquiescence. For the spectators attracted to a progressive spectacle can still be persuaded to turn out at conservative events since it does not require great commitment to attend out of curiosity or to enjoy a show when one's reputation is not at risk. Factors such as repression and positive sanctioning underline the difficulties of identifying demonstrable consequences of any one spectacle. Often, however, progressive spectacle includes articulated demands, such as for an extension of the franchise or for souls to save. In these instances, the result can often be measured in terms of the numbers who make affirmations of faith or vote to support a petition. Conservative spectacle can also embrace specific claims, but throughout our period, this was atypical for there was great unity between the state and governing class. Thus the assessment of responses to manifest demands is almost invariably connected to progressive spectacle. Nevertheless, conservative display involves the dramatic presentation of certain ideological claims, for instance, that only great heroes can defend the nation, calling for some kind of analysis on the part

of the organizers.

It may be thought that those who witnessed the spectacle would be able to give a reasonably unbiased report but, in fact, the accounts can vary so widely as to deny, in some instances, that any large-scale display took place at all. This tactic is more typically employed by those identifying with the status quo for the powers with which to suppress details indicating the true appeal of the ideology of opponents is more readily available to dominant interests. In comparing accounts of the spectacles of which detailed studies follow, there will be many examples so we shall confine ourselves here to two brief references. The reports of the gathering at St Peter's Field in Manchester tend to concur about the large number and great variety of banners but Norris, the Chairman of the Bench committing Hunt for trial, spoke of a crowd 'assembled, with such insignia and in such a manner, with the black flag, the bloody dagger, with "Equal Representation or Death". ... They came in a threatening manner - they came under the banners of death, thereby showing they meant to overturn the Government'.<sup>80</sup> However, the journalist from The Times listed the slogans from a large number of banners demonstrating that the topics ranged from 'Unity and Strength' to 'No Corn Laws' and only one, amongst a number of flags, exhibited a bloody pike.<sup>81</sup> The same kind of disparity may be noted with respect to the way in which relatively unorganized/uncontrolled crowds are described. In 1810, Sir Francis Burdett was confined to the Tower having been found guilty of breach of Parliamentary privilege as the result of publishing a paper supporting reform in Cobbett's Weekly Register. On his release a large number of supporters gathered.



The crowd for some time continued but slowly to increase, but towards three o'clock, their numbers were rapidly augmented; and, shortly after three, as fitting a rabble as ever were 'raked together' appeared on Tower Hill. The bands in the neighbourhood frequently struck up a tune; and the assembled rabble as frequently huzzaed (they knew not why), and thus between them, for an hour or two, they kept up a scene of continual jollity and uproar.<sup>82</sup>

The antagonism displayed in this report may be compared to a complacent description of a crowd at an ox-roasting held the previous year at Windsor.

Shortly after the carving had commenced, and the pudding had began to be distributed, the efforts of the Bachelors to keep off the crowd became useless; some of the Royal Blues, on horseback, assisted in endeavouring to repel them, but without effect. The pudding was now thrown to those who remained at a distance, and now a hundred scrambles were seen in the same instant. The bread was next distributed in a similar way, and, lastly, the meat; a considerable quantity of it was thrown to a butcher, who, elevated above the crowd, catching large pieces in one hand, and holding a knife in the other, cut smaller pieces off, letting them fall into the hands of those beneath who were on the alert to catch them. The pudding, meat, and bread, being thus distributed, the crowd were finally regaled with what was denominated a 'sop in the pan'; that is, with having the mashed potatoes, gravy, etc., thrown over them.<sup>83</sup>

As will be seen from these accounts, the selection of detail and the response to the behaviour of the crowd indicates the observers' ideological conceptions of appropriate behaviour and degree of acceptance of the legitimacy of the claims embodied in the events.

However, on some occasions, rather than whole-hearted concurrence by spectators with the aims and methods displayed at any given spectacle, there is a tension between general acquiescence to the claim and resistance to the mode of organization. We have already noted the acceptance by Archibald Prentice that large demonstrations should be mounted to further the cause of parliamentary reform although he did not acknowledge the appropriateness of the mode of organization. By this, we take him to be critical of the somewhat 'military' style of Peterloo and the generally forceful emblems and rhetoric employed. Similarly, Mrs Arbuthnot, a high-Tory hostess, appears



to have been sceptical throughout George IV's coronation although we can hardly doubt her approbation of the monarchy as institution.<sup>84</sup>

So there is no uncontradictory connection between beliefs, form of spectacle and attitudes of the target groups leading, in many instances, to somewhat uneasy compromises being expressed within the spectacle. For the drive toward aesthetic completeness is likely to be jeopardized by the need to satisfy conflicting interests within the organizer and target groups. Some of the issues surrounding the aesthetics of power demonstration will be discussed below, meanwhile we shall make some observations on the implications of the ideological position adopted in mediums of communication for those targets not actually present at the spectacle.

In the following chapter, we shall examine in greater detail the arrangements pertaining to the spread of news in Britain during our period. So, at this juncture, it will be sufficient to note that, in the majority of cases, the resources for dissemination were more readily available to the creators of conservative spectacle than to those who challenged the status quo. Thus, to cite but two instances, throughout our period, newspapers not supporting the ruling class were subject to harrassment of some kind including, at times, imprisonment for the editor. Word-of-mouth was often the most typical form of communication amongst the rural poor who used small pathways and drovers roads rather than the main urban routes unless the village embraced social groups such as independent artisans or was large enough to sustain a market. Those individuals who were economically free from the pressures likely to be placed upon them by large landowners and other wealthy patrons seem to have frequently acted as newsbearers.<sup>85</sup> It is evident that the ideological position adopted by informants, namely those who control industries such



as the press, voluntary interest groups like dissenters with national lines of communication and individuals, for example peers, with access to restricted sources, has further connotations. For the stance of informants helps to ensure that, as a result of the attitude taken to the event as a whole, a certain type of spectator will attend. Ideally, the organizers would almost certainly wish to have control over the publicity for then the chances of attracting a favourable crowd would be greatest. Similarly, a monopoly of news would tend to prevent the incitement of opponents to attend thereby undermining the effectiveness of the display. For concern with effect means not only with the details of the display but the demeanour of the spectators who are, for the purposes of reporters of spectacle, one and the same.

## VII

So far in our discussion of ideology, we have focused on its implications for readings of the event by organizers and targets, spectators or otherwise. We shall now return to an ideological issue raised in our general statement about the conditions necessary for spectacle during the Industrial Revolution. In that section, we made the observation that spectacle could only be created as an aspect of certain kinds of ideology. Further, as we have seen above, ideologies which permit or even encourage large-scale demonstrations of power are peculiar to neither conservatively nor progressively-oriented social groups. Rather, a more useful distinction for the purposes of this study is that between collectivist and individualist ideologies.

Whilst fascism and socialism are radically opposed ideologies, both may be termed collectivist, for they share certain fundamental

Presuppositions. Collectivism asserts that society precedes the individual; the centrality of the state and hence its control is emphasized; the activity of the people as a whole is the basis of a workable social system; human nature may or may not be deemed fixed; human needs are not to be measured through the acquisition of specific material goods and may even be deemed immeasurable; moral values are scaled in association with the pursuit of the people's/class's good; happiness means working together toward a common end. Thus collectivist ideologies, whether held by dominant or subordinate groups include within them the need to appeal for mass support. Typically, the appeal will include calls for active promotion of the ideals presented in the spectacle either by joining an organization or putting aside personal interests 'for the good of all'. There was not, however, a coherent progressive collectivist ideology articulated until later in the century. Rather opposition to the status quo was voiced in the terms of a 'golden ageist' ideology which consisted of revamped traditional values strengthened by opposition to structural change. In the chapter on the camp meeting, we shall develop and apply this notion in an attempt to understand these spectacular phenomena. It is appropriate to discuss golden ageism at that juncture, for radical Methodist groups were particularly important in mobilizing opposition to the Methodist Church and incidentally to more overtly political matters. The ability of religious groups to attract support from those who share a collectivist ideology goes some way to explain the communalist component within their beliefs and practices. Religions almost invariably assume a need for communal worship as a special act of reverence, not merely equalling the combined strengths of individuals, but as having a power peculiar to a large body of people. However, this

is not quite the same as advocacy and creation of structural conditions permitting full participation in assemblies of worshippers. The ideological component of radical religious spectacle was often manifestly progressive and embraced offers of involvement in democratic organizations designed explicitly to champion the material and spiritual interest of believers. Likewise demands for autonomy and recognition by authorities typically had political implications for either it was patently a case of subordinate versus dominant class or there was a rejection of a more conservative ideology propounded by individuals from all or any class.

Our period was of particular importance as regards conservative ideology, for, as Mannheim has noted, 'conservative thought emerged as an independent current when it was forced in to conscious opposition to bourgeois-revolutionary thought, to the natural-law mode of thought'.<sup>86</sup> Although the main thrust of Mannheim's discussion is on the rise of philosophical Romanticism in Germany, this movement is placed within the context of the more general European development. In Britain, historicism was related directly to spectacle since it provided the themes and sometimes the model for various events. However, these spectacles were not continuations of customary events but self-conscious revivals, as occurred in Edinburgh in 1822, created in order to promote the concept of an organic society. Clearly, the more diverse the opportunities for involvement of different groups, the greater the chance of a concrete and particularized spectacle. That is, the emphasis on the local and specific expression of nationhood was more important than the understanding, by those not present at the event, of the exact significance of the symbols.

Although the connection between collectivist ideologies and spectacle tends to be fairly straightforward, proponents of individualis-

tic ideologies do advocate support for spectacle. These bodies of thought are 'anti-qualitative and anti-magical'; the 'dissociation of knowledge from personalities and concrete communities'<sup>87</sup> leads to an emphasis on universality and abstraction; theory treats of generalities. Individuals are conceived of as identical objects which, when grouped, equal the sum of their parts. Having generalized and universalized thought and placed it above being, neither the past nor the future can be an affective force; collectivities are deemed to have no specific interests. Although mass activity is not precluded, most arises when individuals unite to further specific reforms, typically on the basis of arguments in favour of 'individual liberty' and it is much less likely that a general rejection of oppression, experienced in individualistic terms, will lead to the production of spectacle.

Progressive individualism found its voice in the movements for governmental reform, both local and national. The articulation of the notions of political and economic liberty followed from the elevation of the postulates of natural-law in the struggles of the late 1820s. At that stage, equality was not considered to be an empirical fact and, as a result, the revolutionary nature of the Reform Bill confrontations were undermined. Yet this ideological position was probably the most clearly conceived of the period and found the most dynamic organizational and cultural expression. Members of hierarchical associations based on combinations of election and co-option selected details from the 1830 French upheaval as well as practices established by collectivist groups. On the other hand, conservative individualism fixated on self-interest, exploitation and abstracted social relations often focused on subjective liberty. Its pre-eminent expression was in the field of evangelicism which was typically directed toward those patently lacking the favoured liber-

ties. It mobilized large numbers of women, whose inherent inequality and legitimate subjection made them the ideal carriers of this body of ideas, though the conjunction of sentimentality with economic exploitation only began to show itself at the latter end of our period.

However, certain conditions favour the legitimation of spectacle amongst individuals associated solely through a disuniting ideology. Whilst the explanations identified by Oberschall are not exclusive to progressive individualism, collectivist groups are more likely to have positive sanctioning within their ideology for mass activity. Oberschall focuses on two possible reasons for the emphasis on 'visible aggregations' by social movements: 'discontented groups typically are not provided with the occasion of registering their full strength through elections or by pointing to the number of formally enrolled members in their organizations'.<sup>88</sup> Thus legal restrictions and inequalities in the distribution of resources lead Oberschall to suggest that 'identification moves' made by opposition groups 'may be the only means through which the leaders of the movement can demonstrate to their followers and sympathizers their own true strength'.<sup>89</sup> In a sense, then, it is suggested that lack of or possibly exhaustion of the few alternatives available, force subordinate groups to organize spectacles. Both the conditions cited by Oberschall prevailed during the Industrial Revolution; for instance, political restrictions, even on quite powerful economic groups, were an important source of support for spectacles mounted during the 1832 reform bill campaign.

It is, perhaps, paradoxical that conservative spectacle can often be mounted for the same reason as progressive spectacle, namely as the only way in which power can be demonstrated and hence legitimacy claimed. For, as Weber has demonstrated, 'it is an induction from

experience that no system of authority voluntarily limits itself to the appeal to material or affectual or ideal motives as a basis for guaranteeing its continuance'.<sup>90</sup> Whatever kind of legitimacy is claimed, (the details of which do not concern us), 'the scope of determination of social relationship and cultural phenomena by authority and imperative co-ordination is considerably broader than appears at first sight'.<sup>91</sup> With respect to spectacle, this may involve stagings by institutions engaged in other activities or the creation of an institution occupied solely with that activity or combinations of the two. Throughout the Industrial Revolution, conservative spectacle was dominated by institutions with dual roles despite the trend toward the creation of special organizations. This arrangement blended well with elitist ideas dominating conservatism associated typically with notions of virtual representation. As noted above, collectivism was not solely a progressive stance for the paternalist ideology assumed that each had his or her place in a harmonised social system. Nevertheless, Parliament, it was held, although not elected by the whole adult population, rightly acted in the name of the entire people who were represented by those with the inherent ability to decide for the nation. In effect, the majority of the population were awarded the status of children and, as such, treated to regular shows and novelties. The aim seems to have been to offer a series of examples usually involving terrifying people into compliance or inspiring them with awe at the magnificence of their superiors. With respect to the ruling class, the idea of being part of a powerful nation was likely to have just as much appeal for, typically, their economic well-being confirmed the correctness of their assumptions. Thus, whilst the organization of conservative spectacle was subject to change, on the whole, it was not until later



in the nineteenth century, when the bourgeois democratic idea of formal equality took root, that this basic ideology was greatly altered. Any adjustments in the arrangements for spectacle mounted by conservatives were not normally designed to change the ideological role of spectacle. Ultimately pressure from the bourgeoisie and the adoption of middle-class values by the landed interest forced a division in the multiple functions carried out by the state/ruling class.

#### VIII

In this section, we shall be considering some of the aesthetics in portrayals of power as well as constraints introduced by authorities tending to modify organizers' intentions in connection with the content and form of spectacle. There was an enormous aesthetic range encompassing the stylized and improvisatory forms which resulted in some spectacle being entirely scripted whereas others were almost created through interaction by activists and participants at the event. The aesthetic potential is yet another reason for avoiding classifications such as religious, political and so forth. A contrast of two overtly religious events makes this point clear. In April, 1821, the Tent Preachers of Bristol erected their tent for a day-long service on the same date that an execution took place. It was organized and attended by individuals from the lower class and consisted of improvised addresses, based on fairly well-established conventions of revivalist rhetoric in conjunction with a participating audience whose freedom to move and make utterances was only limited by the pressures of the large crowd.<sup>92</sup> In contrast, the Thanksgiving service for the Peace Proclamation of 1802 held at St Paul's Cathedral consisted of a set script for both spoken and

silent action which established bounds to the behaviour of activists and participants alike.<sup>93</sup> The participants were drawn from both Houses of Parliament and the Corporation of London. Further, the service was preceded by a grand procession provided by the Corporation of London. In both instances, there was much scope for the creation of passive onlookers, since action was isolated and contained by both the high degree of stylization and the firm signaling that this ritual was to be treated as a performance. The variations displayed in the above examples may certainly be partly explained by the class differences, especially when it is between activists and onlookers. Yet, in analysis, the underlying ideology is of great significance, as different justifications can lead to progressives and conservatives, from opposite poles, advocating the same or similar behaviour. Thus we may note the great emphasis placed on orderly behaviour by both the organizers of the St Peter's Field demonstration and of one military review held in Hyde Park. "Cleanliness", "sobriety", "order", were', as Thompson declares, 'the first injunctions issued by the committee, to which, on the suggestion of Mr Hunt, was subsequently added that of "peace"'.<sup>94</sup> And the Morning Post, in describing the review of Volunteers in June, 1800, stated that 'a finer body of men, or of more martial appearance, no country could produce. While, they rivalled, in discipline, troops of the line'.<sup>95</sup> Likewise, a similarity in the effect aimed at may be detected in the encouragement of 'free expression' by the groups who arranged the Mexborough Common camp meeting and the Windsor ox-roasting. It is, therefore, the specific context in which conventions are utilized that needs to be considered.

Nevertheless, there are structural constraints affecting all

classes which cannot be overlooked. For instance, throughout the Industrial Revolution, only participants in state-organized spectacles were entitled to bear arms. In effect, this meant that conservatives, as the defenders of dominant interests, had the monopoly of overt displays of martial strength. Further, as the state was still, in many respects, to be equated with the nobility and its adherents, the consequence was an overwhelming display of ruling class power. However, organizers could, and did, make use of other signifiers of virtual might. Ordered marching, flags, drums and military music were used in order to hint at the commitment to non-peaceful means as a possible way of achieving goals. But, because signifiers do not have a one-to-one meaning which may be read off, the presence of what might be termed 'military elements' can be explained in a variety of ways. These devices were typically utilized by opposing progressive groups often to suggest hidden strengths and threaten dire consequences, as a consequence of the domination by the ruling class of political life. We should note, however, that the long drawn-out war resulting in numbers of discharged soldiers as well as frequent army displays helped make 'military elements' ubiquitous. Thompson cites many examples of which one may be quoted.

In Manchester, during the great strike of 1818, the spinners 'marched By piccadilly on Tuesday and was 23½ minets in going Bye', reported the informer, Bent: 'One man from Eich shop is chose by the People and he commands them he forms them in Ranks and ... they obey him as Strickley as the army do their Colonel and as Little Talking as in a Regiment'.<sup>96</sup>

A comparison of Peterloo with the meeting held at York to protest about the massacre in Manchester, both of which apparently employed the same theatrical, mainly military elements, makes it clear that, whilst in the one instance, the power appeared to be actual, and

therefore greatest, it was only so as a consequence of the severe limitations on political activity placed on those present. But the York meeting was a more dramatically mediated endeavour, not in appearance, but because many of those attending had considerable political power. The difference in status between the two presentations demonstrates that the essence of spectacle is the symbolization of power, hence the paradoxical weakness of parades of real strength.

Another instance of the potential for disconnected readings may be found with respect to 'labour symbols', by which, we mean costumes and devices associated with particular trades and their associations. Whilst bona fide trade unions did make use of them during confrontations with their employers, larger numbers appear to have been utilized during conservative spectacle as a means of displaying deference. Incorporation of the emblems of artisan skills can take several different forms. For instance, in London, various guilds, whilst parading their support of Queen Caroline during the divorce trial, made much use of examples of their crafts. Thus the crystal workers, bakers and brassfounders laid the products of their work at the feet of the queen in the form of reproductions of crowns, sceptres and so on.<sup>97</sup> Yet, by that time, the guilds were almost devoid of economic power and were fast becoming social clubs for the bourgeoisie. The parade by the guilds signifies rather attachment to a superseded set of social relations, included in which were chivalric notions about the purity of the knight's lady (the queen). Thus the displays were important means of persuading target groups of the passivity and benign intentions of those presenting the spectacle and their adherence to 'traditional' values. Again, during the Bishop Blaize procession, emblems were displayed which represented displaced skills and, more importantly, dead or dying social rela-

tionships. Thus apprentices and masters' sons rode together clad in the same costume and woolcombers dressed in wool wigs, stuff coats and so on were also part of the cavalcade.<sup>98</sup> Yet, in the summer of the same year, a long and bitter struggle between the woolcombers and their employers commenced as the result of a build-up, over a number of years, of grievances connected with the effects of mechanization.<sup>99</sup> Thus one function of the celebration was to suggest the validity of defunct social ties. In general, the alienation by dominant groups of the products of subordinates' labour in a reified, apparently non-violent manner has considerable implications. For, as Marx has stated, it is in this area that the worker has most power, by virtue of command of a skill, valued to some degree by the rest of society. However, as in post-feudal times, this regard was typically manifested in the shape of the employer's willingness to pay for the skill and, hence the maintenance of the worker, the power implied in the knowledge of a craft, was limited. Hence, the need to return commodities to subordinates via the means of a display of benign symbolic economic and social power. Similarly, the willingness to remain subservient, or at least accept inferior status was often demonstrated by ceremonious presentations of gifts, as when the guilds marched to the Queen's residence. At other times, the presence of such groups at conservative spectacles was sufficient to indicate legitimization of the dominant ideology.

In general, incorporation seems to have much wider implications for progressive groups. Although, as we saw above, our period illustrates determined attempts to repress most public activity other than that directly sanctioned by the state, such suppression did not halt the flow of radical influence, in the long run, despite

the distortion progressive ideas were subjected to. For progressive symbolizations of power were created and, in due course, exposed to depoliticization as a consequence of the legitimization of claims. We shall see, for example, in the study of the Parish reform march, the revolutionary symbols derived from the French Revolution redefined so as to be equated with a bourgeois model of parliamentary representation. In this way, the devices retained by radicals were fundamentally altered. However, in another example, conservatives not only adopted progressive ideas but actually destroyed the spectacle, itself. Anglican evangelicals created lay organizations but perpetuated the division between the spiritual and secular spheres of authority, thus excluding the questioning of ideology implicit in the radical Methodist stance. For the Methodist breakaway groups encouraged debate around central beliefs and not solely on strategies for putting handed-down ideas into practice. Furthermore, conversion was changed from a communal to a domestic activity as large-scale meetings gave way to home visits by committed Churchgoers. For these reasons, although the challenge offered to established Christianity by progressive religions was taken up, meetings full of spiritual energy were depreciated, organizational and fund-raising events associated with causes, such as foreign missions, being substituted. In fact, in this instance, spectacle is seen to disappear in the face of complaisance and conformity. The evangelicals' activities, which began at the end of the 1820s, mark the absorption of some challenges to the Church of England into establishment custom. Thus, in this way, there was a loss of evidence of power to the conservative camp which made endeavours to claim the extension of justice as part of their own history and, in this process, depoliticized the struggle.



Of course, symbols and rites are affected by factors other than incorporation. They are liable to disappear and change their meaning as a consequence of the creation of new alliances, changes in the mode of production and so on. Similarly, the receding of significations can hail success as well as failure. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to trace the origins and development of all the forms of expressions of power, so in the following, we concentrate upon those represented in the event under consideration.

If we look at conservative spectacles, it is apparent that they often made use of bodies of people gathered into associations on the most specious of excuses. The command of resources made this comparatively simple. Likewise, state resources which were already geared toward spectacle were utilized by agencies to pad out events which were supposedly devoted to some other end. Hence, large numbers of army units were brought into London for Nelson's funeral and, as Oman notes, a number of observers were critical, for 'afterwards, it was objected that ten thousand regular soldiers were far more than was necessary upon a naval occasion, and the appropriateness of flying artillery with twelve field pieces and ammunition tumbrils was questioned'.<sup>100</sup> Likewise, the report which appeared in The Edinburgh Advertiser remarked upon the manifest lack of connection between the land and sea forces stating that 'the detachment of Artillery was introduced on the occasion for the purpose of increasing the effect of this impressive spectacle'.<sup>101</sup>

As we have seen, spectacle implicitly involves large numbers of people but sometimes, banks of private individuals were considered to be one of the theatrical elements. We have noted in the case of the Halifax ox-roasting and, in particular, Nelson's funeral procession how the view available to those occupying windows along the

route of processions or surrounding the site of a display was often enhanced by embracing the more plebeian onlookers. However, whilst in many respects this effect was incidental, at certain spectacles, plans were laid so as to create a show by manipulation of the spectators. A manoeuvre of this kind was not so much an example of deviousness, (although it was often tendentious), as a product of the conditions in which the event had to be produced. We have already described the meeting on Catholic Emancipation at Penenden Heath where the purpose, namely the debating of the issue before an audience drawn from all classes, was a significant factor in shaping the spectacle. By using carts, carriages and horses, the social groups were differentiated within both the Catholic and Protestant sections. In another case, a geographical accident played a large part in the creation of spectacle near Redruth, as Thomas Taylor, a Methodist preacher remarked when he spoke 'in what the Cornish term "the Pit" but Mr Wesley calls an "amphitheatre", that is, a large hollow, which will hold abundance of people; and it is astonishing how it excites the gentry and folk together when it is reported that anyone is to preach there'. In seeking an explanation for the attraction of the site, Taylor himself declared that 'I do not remember to have preached to so great a multitude, except once on the Green at Glasgow. It was truly an awful sight. ... It is amazing how such a spot should ever be chosen for a place to preach in, amid rocks and mines, and scarcely a house near it; and that it should continue to excite the curiosity of people to come from such a distance to hear the word of God in a wilderness'.<sup>102</sup> Thus eighteenth-century aesthetic consciousness of wild scenery was harnessed in the creation of a suitable setting for spectacle. It may be that, taken in the long run, the theatrical potential of the large crowd was more attractive to

progressive groups because of restrictions on finance and so forth but, on the other hand, this must be balanced against positive ideological commitments on the part of conservatives to this kind of staging evinced at, for example, the Halifax ox-roasting.

Perhaps the most immediate way in which content and form can be affected is in the area of location choice. We have noted how much significance the authorities, both secular and spiritual, placed upon this aspect. An important condition for ensuring the success of a spectacle is that organizers are able to use a place in a district appropriate to the target group. Thus blocks placed by the authorities or private individuals on access to suitable sites can have serious repercussions. If the site is too small, too expensive or exclusive in some other way this may prevent an adequate number of spectators attending. Further, restrictions with respect to location may prevent the kind of event best suited to the articulation of the power held by the organizing group being staged. In our period, control of location included total bans, but the law was more typically designed so as to contain particular groups who were sometimes prepared to challenge the authorities. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, the complexity of social life required that whatever the legal position, all applications to mount a spectacle came up before some kind of authority empowered to assess the validity and/or appropriateness of the intended location. Thus camp meetings had to be authorised by the Ecclesiastical Courts which not only issued a license for a named preacher but also a specified site. Whilst similar constraints did not inhibit the College of Arms when arranging Nelson's funeral cavalcade, the judiciary was still involved in determining an apt route. Hence, because an old Act of Parliament stated that a corpse could not pass

through St James's Park without making it public for ever more, the procession did not go through the Park and Pall Mall as was originally intended but took an alternative route from the Admiralty to St Paul's.<sup>103</sup> However, more typically the validity of the intended location was judged on the basis of the class of the organizers and target group as well as the purpose of the affair. Predictably, the advantages enjoyed when creating Nelson's funeral procession were typical of those benefits falling to the arrangers of state spectacle. Conversely, location choice was most limited when the organization was not merely led by the lower class but was overtly concerned with the promotion of their interests, a restriction rarely alleviated by the presence of the bourgeoisie, as events at Peterloo demonstrated.

We can best see the implications of location choice in a consideration of the two key forms available to spectacle organizers: the procession and the gathering, defined as a spectacular event held on one site. Processions may vary from the movement of lines of people formed into a column from a starting point to their goal by the quickest and/or most direct route to a meander in and around a particular district with frequent stops for gatherings. Spectacle tends to be processional when the target group does not reside or work in the area in which the organizers are active. This means, for example, that those progressive events demonstrating the power backing overt and/or specific claims are likely to take this form. Thus for political groups, the presentation of a petition, a common practice, was almost bound to involve bearing it ceremonially to the king who lived in the middle of the most prosperous part of the capital. Similarly, the procession was favoured when the organizers were free to attempt reaching the largest number of people. Here,

conservatives demonstrate, yet again, their advantage for, in many cases, they could rove around a district, fully protected, utilising customary routes. These conditions prevailed when the Scottish regalia was transported through Edinburgh, in order to provide some kind of excuse for yet another ceremony during George IV's visit in 1822.<sup>104</sup> Similarly, the Bishop Blaize cavalcade spent an entire day walking from one gathering in Bradford to the next so as set speeches could be delivered by the leading protagonists.<sup>105</sup>

Of course, sometimes, gatherings were favoured by both conservatives and progressives. For example, in order to focus on the power of the military, as opposed to using them as dressing and/or crowd controllers, as at other events, reviews were mounted. The pretext was the king's supposed need to examine his troops and, as a result, so far as the spectators were concerned, he played the part of chief activist. It is interesting though that his purely ceremonial function is revealed in the duality of his status because, for most of the participants in the review, the monarch is, in many respects, the key onlooker. Nevertheless, as our concern is with spectacle as an expression of power directed toward a target group, we shall adopt the first account and place the king within the review as an activist. Thus the monarch inspected his troops and the target group were encouraged to come and watch. Another example of a spectacle depending for its effect on a reasonably stable audience was the revivalist meeting which sometimes took the form of an expression of the power of progressives. In this instance, constancy was needed because the spectators were called upon to go through a series of emotional responses. However, the inclination to use a protected site meant that organizers were vulnerable since there tends to be a shortage of appropriate points for gatherings, that is

accessible but away from public thoroughfares. Even when a suitable location was found, certain organizers were subject to legal constraints. In the case of camp meetings, a detailed study of which follows, the organizers were forced to make considerable financial outlay, expend time and find in others or themselves a range of skills associated with building. However, in satisfying the demands of ecclesiastical law, a broadening and enriching in the scope of the original schema was effected. Whilst progressives were usually more occupied than conservatives with overcoming restrictions anyway, gatherings, certainly during the Industrial Revolution, seem to have called for the exercise of more ingenuity. This demand inhering in gatherings may be a product of the typical need to not only reach people visually, as during processions, but verbally too, thus offering opportunities for and demanding more aesthetic invention. Further, the level of concentration at a gathering can be much higher amongst the spectators than during a cavalcade where the passivity of the onlooker tends to be enhanced. Spectators are largely immobile as the moving procession passes them whereas the distinction between the two groups at gatherings is physically much less precise. As a result, there is more opportunity for the object of attention at gatherings to be created at the event and to be subject to revision throughout.



## CHAPTER TWO

### SPECTACLE IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT: 1780-1832

In the previous chapter, examples drawn from the period under discussion were cited to exemplify some theoretical points pertaining to spectacle and associated concepts. Now, we shall turn to a more general discussion of the developments in spectacle throughout the Industrial Revolution. However, before considering the chief cultural and ideological expressions of spectacular power, there are a few general points to be made. There are a number of underlying themes in this chapter and the individual studies which follow stemming from the overarching implications of the economic, political and ideological changes taking place in Britain during the Industrial Revolution.

The hitherto unprecedented rapidity and far-reaching nature of developments was probably the feature which distinguished the period, included in which was the extraordinary increase in the population of individuals with nothing to sell but their labour. Social relations were profoundly affected for the labourer, whether under the employ of the manufacturer or the large farmer was merely a 'hand' with neither custom nor tradition to soften the confrontation. The behaviour of the bourgeoisie and even the ruling class altered, too, as economic activity came to predominate over social and political relationships. For the continual increase in the numbers of the proletariat, in conjunction with the expansion of capital, had significant implications for relations between these two groups. Broadly, the expansion in capitalist industrialization engaged more and more of the other social and economic interests and institutions. The long-term effects in the wider society of developments in social

control, which increasingly involved defence of bourgeois property, and emergence of non-subjective principles in the division of labour were considerable. The tensions were exacerbated by the unevenness of developments both geographically and as between industries at a regional level, since this resulted in acute economic confrontation. The initial response, by the governing class, to the accompanying unrest was force, but this began to give way to ideology as the most effective weapon when a bourgeois-aristocratic alliance at the state level emerged. The degree to which capital had established itself amongst all classes may also be seen in the form of democracy included in the liberal-democratic model, for consumption and control of GNP was advanced as the greatest height to which people could aspire. There was a gradual change from face-to-face domination to a more impersonal, centralized authority. Problems peculiar to urbanization meant that there were some differences in the mode of rule in country and town, with paternalism lingering into the 1830s in some rural districts. The general trend of the period was one of secularization. Religious belief was marked by privatization and voluntarism. Extra-establishment religion satisfied the continuing need for oppositional as well as integrative organizations.

So far as spectacle is concerned, a number of trends will become clear. We shall see how the strengthening of liberal democratic ideology and rational-legal domination changed the nature of spectacle, especially those associated with industrial expansion. For the actual power symbolized and the classes most immediately involved in its arrangement altered considerably. In broad terms, spectacle became for the first time the concern of the lower class, being manifested in religious as well as political events. Likewise, the aristocracy's dominance was challenged but rather than this

resulting immediately in replacement of personnel by the bourgeoisie in established institutions like Parliament, new types of spectacle, such as grand dock openings, began to be introduced.

The sections which follow are devoted to the general pattern of spectacle between 1780 and 1832 and will open with two accounts of responses to contemporary events a) industrialization and urbanization and b) the French Revolution and subsequent war. These comments will be couched in terms of the kind of developments taking place in spectacle, with particular emphasis on form and content. It is hoped that an overview will be provided of the main features embodied in spectacle in order to outline some major points to be exemplified in the later individual studies. We shall then focus on three main bodies of belief - paternalism, golden-ageism and entrepreneurialism. In particular, we shall note the increasing vitality of the golden-ageist ideology in preparation for a detailed examination of its implications in the study of the Mow Cop Camp Meeting. Likewise, the change in the role of the monarchy to a national figurehead with symbolic significance which was an important aspect of George IV's visit to Edinburgh will be seen, below, in the light of the Scottish aristocracy's pursuit of its common interests. Finally, the reformist stance of the middle class will be identified via a discussion of the organizational forms and symbolic content favoured in their spectacle. The third study will pursue this point in connection with the London Parishes March to present a petition for William IV.

## I

Throughout the eighteenth century, large-scale routine stagings were important weapons whereby the ruling class affirmed its right to rule. Indeed, Thompson has gone so far as to argue that 'ruling class control in the eighteenth century was located primarily in a

cultural hegemony, and only secondarily in an expression of economic or physical (military) power'.<sup>1</sup> In fact, military power does not have to be mobilized solely to physically repress, as in the case of Peterloo, nor does it have to be utilized principally as a means of offering overt threats for, as we shall see in Edinburgh, the militia was exploited in an elaborately staged plea. However, that spectacle, as an aspect of this cultural life, should be salient is explicable on the social, economic and ideological levels. The gentry and aristocracy commanded considerable, sometimes enormous, incomes from their land, usually in one district, but occasionally consisting of acreage in various parts of Britain. Yet, as Thompson argues, the appropriation of labour value was made invisible by the mediations of tenantry, trade and taxation. As a result, it was typically possible for the aristocrat or squire to retain the position of benevolent paternalist spending money and distributing charity, it was claimed, simply from the willing recognition of the duty involved in owning great tracts of land. The organization of the numerous ceremonious appearances at village festivals, anniversaries within the noble family and so on devolved largely upon those in positions gained via the noble's patronage, on his servants or others engaged in service trades. And this was the case at both central and local level, for the power of the dominant families pervaded the whole social structure. A coronation, just as much as a coming-of-age involved the great families, dependents, servants and client economy, but with the significant proviso that, at the local level, the costs fell upon the aristocracy whereas state events could be largely financed by taxes. The almost complete control of resources necessary for the maintenance of visible rule was made easier, as Perkin explains, in 'a society distributed in small units,

a society of villages and small towns in which everyone knew everyone else'.<sup>2</sup> Even though, throughout the century, there was an increase in wage labourers and independent artisans, and, London, in particular, was the focus of the lumpenproletariat, the personal system of face-to-face relationships still dominated.<sup>3</sup> Essentially, it was a system of dependency.

However, these displays of power were largely customary, entwined with the Church calendar, regular processes of the law and family rites, and, as Thompson makes clear, 'once a social system has become "set", it does not need to be endorsed daily by exhibitions of power'.<sup>4</sup> There were, of course, exceptional events fulfilling the requirements of our definition of spectacle, for example, victory celebrations or arrivals and departures of royalty on private and, relatively, non-routinized visits. Nevertheless, the residue of a traditional mode of legitimation should not cloud the very real effects of restrictions on organization, movement across the country and so forth for the majority of the population. Yet certain forms of protest were deemed legitimate by the authorities, for example, the food riot, in particular one form - the blockage. Tilly defines the event as one 'in which a group of local people prevented the shipment of food out of their own locality, requiring it to be stored and/or sold locally'.<sup>5</sup> In these instances, as Tilly goes on to argue,

the crowd's actions of blocking, inventorying, storing, declaring a price, and holding a public sale for the benefit of the locals fulfilled what had previously been the obligations of the local authorities in dealing with shortages and high prices. Magistrates or mayors often acknowledged that fact implicitly by acquiescing in the routine; when they took the initiative themselves, the crowd usually stopped its work.<sup>6</sup>

But, in the case of the food riot, we are some way from spectacle

for the practical task of selling grain was still of prime importance. Thus, most forms of protest did not involve spectacle, practically it was not possible to arrange them, for it was only with the Wilkite movement that any association in order to engage in demonstrations with an underlying progressive ideology was recognized by the authorities.

Tilly provides a brief survey of the rise of the demonstration in From Mobilization to Revolution. For several centuries, prior to 1750, people had gathered in large numbers on customary holidays during which they often expressed their opinions in a colourful manner. However, in the case of hangings, royal birthdays, Guy Fawkes' day and so on, 'the authorities provided the occasion and, to some degree, the sanction for the assemblies in question'.<sup>7</sup> After the mid-eighteenth century, 'the crowd became more autonomous, choosing its own occasion and manner of assembly', with the presentation of a petition being the most frequent excuse. In order for the demonstration to become truly autonomous, 'two more changes would complete the transformation: the elimination of the petition as a necessary pretext for the show of strength, and the generalization of the form of action beyond King and Parliament'.<sup>9</sup> Thus by the 1790s organized demonstrations of symbolized power took place with great frequency.

But before the demonstration had reached its final form, the French people initiated one of the most remarkable periods of social reorganization to which we shall now turn our attention.

## II

This section will be devoted to a consideration of the attitudes to and the action taken by various interests in the light of the French Revolution. That 1789 was one of the most notable watersheds in European history was only gradually recognized by some contemporaries.



Philip Brown has traced the responses of the various interests in this country and noted the many variations in the stances adopted. Thus, even the ruling class considered that 'it served France right' and 'many were pleased to bestow a patronising approval on an imitation, at the interval of a century, of the glorious English Revolution'.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, this initial complacency was rapidly undermined by the far-reaching changes taking place in France. It became clear that the people meant to do away with their king and aristocracy. Further, discontent at home, arising from factors such as high grain prices, found a ready articulation in the enormous amount of material being disseminated wherein concepts like 'liberty' were subject to radical redefinition under the influence of the French Revolution. However, the ruling class did not adopt a consistent policy of opposition, partly because they did not share one attitude toward the claims of the French aristocracy. Likewise, opinions on action to be taken in Britain veered between extreme repression to massive pacification. Hence the government vigorously prosecuted societies and associations founded in order to pursue radical objectives and, at the same time, collectivist ideologies were combated by influential groups with tracts, Sunday Schools, and other modes of recommending deference and humility. Strategies adopted tended to be based on the material interests of the individual involved, assessment of the real danger to these interests and understanding of the nature of the grievances of the oppressed majority.

Thus, to take one example, the Prince of Wales sent long sentimental accounts of the sufferings of the emigré nobility to his mother.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, Lord Auckland and his friends were extremely critical of the arrogance of the French peers and identified this behaviour as one of the causes of the Revolution.<sup>12</sup> For many of the

wealthy, no serious apprehension seems to have been entertained regarding their own security. Nevertheless, active support for certain strategies was given, particularly by those in more isolated districts. The most consistent form of organization by landowners may have been that of conspiracy. For despite the shrieks both inside Parliament and informally between friends about the British Jacobins' intrigues aimed at undermining 'stability', the amount of spying and formenting of plots to be publicly revealed by the governing class was enormous. Hence in November, 1792 Sir William Maxwell 'was ferreting out information and employing "sensible people" to explain that the French were infidels bent on destroying Christianity all over the world'.<sup>13</sup> There were strong reasons for exploiting sectional fears as Sydney Smith acknowledged for 'not a murmur against any abuse was permitted. To say a word against the suitor-side delays of the Court of Chancery, or the cruel punishments of the Game-laws, or against any abuse which a rich man inflicted and the poor man suffered, was treason against the plousiocracy, and was bitterly and steadily resented'.<sup>14</sup> Here Smith focuses on the economic interests of the legal profession and the political power of landowners as regards the exercise of their 'rights' with respect to game, not to mention their patronage with respect to pardons.

Even more blatant was the manoeuvring of some members of the Royal family. There was a direct correlation between the claims regarding income made by the Prince of Wales and incidentally of others, notably the Duke of York, and the 'scare'. The Prince of Wales had consistently over-spent for some years and, as a result, was in debt by 1792 to the tune of something in the region of £400,000. He tried various tactics to persuade his father to ask Parliament for both a sum to pay off the debts and an increase in his annual income.

However, by 1792, his supporters openly utilized the strategy of legitimating their patron's demands on the basis of his functional role in providing a spectacular lead. The point is not that the Prince of Wales did not already mount spectacle, even his opponents recognized that. Lord Auckland heard in March 1791 that 'the Prince of Wales has been giving and receiving magnificent balls and fêtes in Hampshire. Whether gallantry or politics be the motive for these festivities, I am not enough in the secret to know'.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, even after the Prince's maiden speech in the House of Lords in May, 1792 in which he denounced seditious publications, the general claim of 'the importance of monarchy to the civil order of this country' was still being pursued by Lord Thurlow, the Prince's representative.<sup>16</sup> But later in the year, the Prince tried to blackmail his father by threatening to withdraw into retirement although 'at a moment when a levelling spirit is fermenting throughout Europe, I acknowledge that the spontaneously descending from the splendour attached to my rank may be politically disadvantageous'.<sup>17</sup> When the king called his son's bluff and agreed to his (the Prince's) retirement from active public life, Lord Loughborough 'wrote an excellent letter in answer, remonstrating against the plan, stating that in these times of democratic frenzy it was necessary to support the splendour of Courts and Princes, etc.'. <sup>18</sup> The free enjoyment of the country's wealth by the royal princes was justified by recourse to 'national' needs. In fact, despite the unrest in the country, the Prince spent his time, as he had always done, indulging himself; his funds went on entertainments, gambling, women and so forth. In other words, the Prince did not feel sufficiently insecure to participate fully in planned public display - a policy he only seems to have adopted much later.

But only so far were the claims by the junior members of the royal family deemed legitimate by the ruling class. More expenditure on the royal family was not popular but what they were prepared to do was assist locally where their own estates and other property was situated. We have already remarked on Sir William Maxwell's endeavours; in the summer of 1789, 'the Royal Family went to Exeter and Plymouth. Hundreds of thousands of people testified their loyalty. They were delighted to trace his footsteps where he had trodden. Almost every village erected an arch or other mark of their tenderness and affection'.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the Government took an active role in creating the conditions for spectacle for 'while the magistrates of London were carrying out the spirit of the proclamation [on seditious publications], the Government was receiving, and indeed promoting, loyal addresses from the country at large'.<sup>20</sup> Clearly, the use of unmitigated repression was inappropriate and the relief with which the king's recovery was greeted and the vivacious means found to celebrate it signify that Lord Auckland's view was widely shared. The noble lord declared of the king that 'as long as he remains so well, the tranquility of this country is on a rock; for the public prosperity is great, and the nation is right-minded, and the commerce and resources are increasing'.<sup>21</sup>

Certainly 'right-mindedness' in the form of anti-French and anti-dissenter feeling was important. Members of the ruling class such as the Marquess of Buckingham, Lord Auckland and the Lord Advocate of Scotland to name but three took a more sympathetic attitude toward the anti-dissenter riots in 1791.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, support was given to the formation of Loyalist Associations. In addition to the reactionary nature of the politics (if they may be so graced) of these riot clubs, their mode of organization forbade the formation

of spectacle. In this way, the ruling class actively delayed its development amongst progressives whose attempts at creating spectacle were restricted both by law and positive sanctioning of street violence. However, support for these riots also provided the potential for damaging forms of conservative spectacle. For when people are encouraged to riot and mob major protagonists, there is a good chance that that form of behaviour will be carried across into conservative events. Apart from the harm done to the radicals, the governing class adopted a very short-sighted policy in mobilizing the lower class around issues such as 'Church and King', because they already needed and came to increasingly require control over the expanding population of the cities, command over labour as the wage relation was united with industrialization and so on. It would appear though that war fever diverted both parties, rich and poor alike from this crass policy of threat by violence.

For progressive forces, the French Revolution both directly and indirectly served as a spur to their endeavours. The input from progressives amongst the intelligentsia was significant for through them new concepts were articulated, such as 'equality', old ideological positions were re-examined and a whole range of emblems, most notably the tricolour were introduced. The vitality of the movement was enhanced by its links with established organizations, for example benefit societies, trade clubs and political societies, such as those founded to espouse the cause of the 1688 Constitution. It was the mass nature of the support for the changes taking place in France and the ideology which lay behind it which helped generate enthusiasm. This ideology identified the people as the nation and then recognized its will as the sole source of legitimacy. Later the essentially bourgeois nature of this ideology was revealed when the



implicit national rivalry between France and Britain became explicit during the struggle between the two countries which was almost wholly economic. The spectacular nature of British Jacobinism can be explained, in part, by the close imitation of French styles. The spectacle took two major forms; on the one hand, there were celebrations of the Revolution and, on the other demonstrations of symbolized power in support of specific demands.

Celebratory events included festivals and marches which were sometimes held to honour the successes of the French as at Sheffield in November, 1792<sup>23</sup> but were just as likely to be tied to customary days of protest, such as Guy Fawkes. Mr Andrews, a witness, describes one such event at Newton, near Manchester where

on the fifth of November the flame of Patriotism broke forth. Their design was to hold a festival, to celebrate the glorious triumph of Gallic freedmen and drink a few toasts to be published in the Manchester Herald, but had no intention of going any further. About noon I went over to them. A great deal of company were got together. A sheep was roasting before a large fire, and they were firing two small cannon and a number of small arms. I proposed making an effigy of Brunswick to be demolished by these artillery, and after some persuasion it was adopted, and carried on with considerable spirit.<sup>24</sup>

In this example, it is clear that the fifth of November, freedmen and sheep roasting, all drawn from British traditions, have been mixed with French triumphal rhetoric and armed struggle. The display of military might, such as it is, is symbolic, less by virtue of numbers than the target. For a shattered effigy at the end of the day has finality of aesthetic proportions. This is particularly so when comparing this festival with a review which could quite as easily take place before a very real battle. Thus we can compare an event with an enacted symbolic conclusion with another whose conclusion could be very much a part of real-life conflict.

Toasting was, of course, central to public banquets and their



enormous popularity amongst progressives throughout the nineties has been remarked upon by Jephson.<sup>25</sup> The illegality of spectacle in the open made banquets attractive but they were also a product of the influence of middle class activists, many of whom were involved in Constitutional Societies. The retention of broad support even by 1794 may be attested by the decision of the Constitutional Society to distribute free tickets for their anniversary dinner to members of the London Corresponding Society. Toasts were the order of the day, amongst which were included salutes to the French Armies of Liberty.<sup>26</sup>

Traditional protest supplied a basis on which to articulate demands for Parliamentary reform which were the backbone of the specific demands. The unwillingness to challenge established property relations indicates on the one hand the material interests of those involved and, on the other, inadequate analysis of the prevailing power structure. The close ties between Scotland and France make it unsurprising that it was in Edinburgh that a Convention, modelling itself on the National Assembly, met in order to formulate a national programme. "'Convention'", as Brown remarks, 'was not a new word in the English political vocabulary, but events in France where the Convention had met and proclaimed a republic that autumn, gave it a new and striking implication'.<sup>27</sup> Yet, it was not only the essentially bourgeois nature of the political demands which made resistance to the ruling class difficult. For the real support given to Jacobinism and its creativeness demonstrated to liberals how much calls for liberty touched on existing intense dissatisfaction. Thus, it was the Whigs, rather than the Tories, who withdrew tacit support of riots for, as F.M.L Thompson observes, 'no Whig politician would have risked, no city father condoned, the tampering with such dangerous

energies.'<sup>28</sup> Thus, ultimately what proved conclusive was material interests, demonstrations of power, symbolic and actual, and the bolstering the dominant ideology received. For conservatives not only favoured more repression but were quick to label opponents as unpatriotic because, it was claimed, they supported a foreign power and a foreign, authoritarian, ideology. This notion was blended with 'the traditional anti-French bias of popular English nationalism, compounded', as Hobsbawm points out, 'equally of John Bull's beef-fed contempt for the starveling continentals (all French in the popular cartoons of the period are as thin as matchsticks) and of hostility to what was, after all, England's "hereditary enemy", though also Scotland's hereditary ally'.<sup>29</sup>

### III

We shall now give space to a lengthier and wholly British matter - the Industrial Revolution. In the following paragraphs, we shall confine ourselves to some remarks on the implications of industrialization and urbanization on the development of spectacle. This will be preceded by a survey of some responses to these developments by a few significant social groupings. As was noted above, throughout our period, there was a gradual integration and transformation of spectacle under state control with its concomitant diminishment as an overtly ruling class concern. One of the reasons for the formation of this transitional stage was the divisions within the landed class with respect to the position to be taken over the exploitation of their land for industrial purposes.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, even when landowners were engaged in industrial development, it was chiefly in the primary industries of timber, coal, iron and so on.<sup>31</sup> For

those who were committed to industrial exploitation, it was not difficult to find investments even if their lands happened to lie outside the developing areas like Lancashire or the Black Country. Although personal involvement of proprietors with holdings in these areas was often greater due to mineral wealth beneath their lands, the transport booms in canals, docks then railways required both capital and political support from the whole of the governing class. Yet the numerous transport bills were vigorously resisted by certain sections on the basis of a variety of objections. The main obstruction 'arose from the fear that a canal, turnpike, or railway might reduce the value of property, for example by breaking a local monopoly held by the estate in the supply of farm produce, coal or building materials, or by damaging the land through causing changes in water levels'.<sup>32</sup> Others opposed on specifically political grounds; Hoskins cites the town of Stamford's (lack of) development. Since the end of the seventeenth century, the Cecils had controlled the election of both members of Parliament by a combination of methods whose successful continuance required that no more houses be built in the town. As a result, squatters were evicted and prosecuted in 1801, then forty five years later the Marquess of Exeter prevented the London/York railway line passing through the town. And up to 1872, the same family maintained effective resistance to enclosure. But long before then Stamford had become a backwater.<sup>33</sup>

The same range of views may be identified within other social classes. Until the second decade of the nineteenth century, certain strata 'accepted' the change to a capitalist mode of production. Artisans benefited generally until the end of the Napoleonic war, even those sections, mostly domestic outworkers, who were later to be decimated as a result of further differentiation in the division

of labour. The early factory workers (drawn mostly from unemployed agricultural labourers) did not always accept their change in conditions quiescently but until there was a considerable group of full-time waged employees, major strikes did not occur. This group, namely factory workers, mostly in cotton, artisans and mechanics constitute the 'acceptors'. In the case of the artisans and mechanics particularly, organization to take account of the changes was evolved either to 'reform' or oppose the conditions. Thus adjustment and acceptance did not necessarily imply approval. Resistance to capital was not always couched in the rhetoric of progressive/socialist politics and amongst outworkers and rural labourers this was markedly so. Generally, as Hobsbawm and Rudé point out, both groups sought to defend their customary rights and restore the stable social order of tradition.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, not until 1830 was there a realization that the old order had passed for good and hence, up to that date, all forms of protest and demand 'modified the traditional collective practices of the village'.<sup>35</sup>

The same failure to grasp the implications of industrialization hindered some members of the middle class. 'Small and inadapttable businessmen, petty-bourgeois, special sections of the economy, were also the victims of the Industrial Revolution and its ramifications' and, as Hobsbawm goes on to declare 'a surprisingly large body of local businessmen and farmers sympathized profoundly with these Luddite activities of their labourers, because they too saw themselves as victims of a diabolical minority of selfish innovators'.<sup>36</sup> For these groups, it was the machines that counted and action was taken against individual models, in the same way that food rioters attacked individual shopkeepers.

However, ideologues (typically middle class) raised objections

to industrialization. Thomas Chalmers observed that it is in

the manufacturing (not yet necessarily factory) town in which 'the poor and wealthy stand more disjoined from each other. It is true, they often meet, but they meet more often on an arena of contest, than a field where the patronage and custom of one party are met by the gratitude and goodwill of the other'. 'There is a mighty unfilled space' he went on, 'between the high and the low of every large manufacturing city'.<sup>37</sup>

But Chalmers was already bemoaning a lost age for, via repeal of legislation defending crafts and their interests alongside the passing of the anti-combination acts, the 'destruction of the machinery of industrial paternalism' had taken place.<sup>38</sup> In the main, though, objections were to specific inventions or acts of Parliament or particular social 'problems'. In other words, either self-interest or conservatism lay at the back of complaints. For example, tied housing and truck were important means whereby coal owners maintained their work force. Truck was made illegal in 1817 but the dominance of coal owners and their friends amongst the magistrates in these isolated communities made the act difficult to administer. In this instance, the maintenance of the paternalist structure was definitely intended to benefit the capitalist employer. Again, Walter Scott only objected to the steam engine because it could be used in large towns. As a result, there was no difficulty in acquiring labour for the employer, so the remaining ties of the small community were broken. 'A super-intendence of the workers considered as moral and rational beings is thus a matter totally unconnected with the employer's usual thoughts and cares'.<sup>39</sup> Scott was, of course, quite indifferent to the physical and psychic exploitation of the workers whether in factories employing water or steam power.

Thus Scott was heavily involved in combating the bits of capitalism which were distasteful to him; one of the functions of George

IV's visit to Edinburgh was to do just that. But, chiefly, the opponents of industrialization and urbanization were on the defensive. Workers who were opposed found only one spectacular outlet and this was revivalism. Similarly, the landed interest became more inward looking, obsessed with trivia and uninterested or unable to find new resources for strengthening the state. This weakness, alongside repression of progressive political activity, left the field wide open to entrepreneurial display. Much of this spectacle hinged on events around the technological inventions of the period. As we have already remarked, opponents were almost as fixated on these inventions as those most benefiting from them; they were the source and object of both criticism and eulogy.

The main pretexts for entrepreneurial spectacle were landmarks in the construction of new means of transport. It would be impossible to comment on them all as stone-layings, topping-up ceremonies and so on were numerous. As a result, we shall concentrate on the inaugural ceremonies of canals, docks and railways. The reason why the introduction into service of a mode of transportation drew rather more attention than the opening of a factory relates to the more active interest of the aristocracy in the former. Their presence was a good excuse and indeed source for ceremony whilst, in many instances, their local standing ensured the presence of a prestigious audience. Secondly, the political power of the nobility enabled them to attract the interest of individuals in high office, not just their money but their prestige and, of course, physical presence at auspicious rituals. Then, besides, transport was a more central issue, since acts of Parliament were required for canals, docks and railways. The multiple purpose of these constructions meant that their economic function could be more easily merged under pious ref-



lections on the entertainment and leisure they provided for all. Further, although they were owned and built for the sole benefit of the proprietors, their 'national' value could be given greater prominence as a result of their **hiring-out potential**. Whilst we may recognize the advantages enjoyed by investors in transport systems, spectacular openings of factories continued to take place for were they not too examples of the wonders of science?

There were three principle phases in transport spectacle, although some overlap occurred. Until the close of the eighteenth century, the openings of canals, including branches, tunnels, etc. attracted the attention, not just of crowds but of influential people. Then 'the London dock mania in the opening years of the nineteenth century followed closely upon the canal boom'.<sup>40</sup> But by the mid-1820s, the novelty of the docks having worn off, ministerial presence was drawn to the opening of railways. In all three cases, sets of conventions were gradually established for the various ceremonies. Canal openings involved one or more decorated pleasure barges, holding a band(s) and the proprietors and their guests. They would be, on occasions, accompanied by other boats holding boatmen, as at the opening of the Regent's Canal<sup>41</sup> or barges laden with a variety of merchandise, as when the Buckingham branch of the Grand Junction was inaugurated.<sup>42</sup> Tunnel openings were particularly noteworthy for their whole length was typically lit by torchlight.<sup>43</sup> The customary pomp for openings of Docks also involved a bedecked ship - typically in the flags of all nations - firing all guns as it entered the dock. Sometimes, as when West India Dock was opening, the inaugural vessel was followed by a laden ship that was actually unloaded.<sup>44</sup> When it came to railways, we can only refer to the very earliest years of what was to develop into a boom with world-

wide significance. Nevertheless, in terms of spectacle, the displays were far from unimpressive. To start with, by the time of the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railways in 1830, ministers, including the Duke of Wellington, the Prime Minister considered it worth their while to travel to Liverpool. The carriages were stuffed with aristocrats, churchmen and city officials.<sup>45</sup> And, whilst at Darlington, five years previously, the personnel had not been so grand, a general holiday had been declared.<sup>46</sup> The similarity between the elements of the three types of opening begins to emerge. For again the vehicle is bedecked and filled with 'important people'. Likewise, at the Stockton and Darlington opening, some carriages carried merchandise.<sup>47</sup> Of course, bands play and, where possible, those spectacular props, the troops are mobilized. They were present in 1806 at the opening of the East India Dock<sup>48</sup> and the travellers on Stephenson's trains were greeted by the 59th Regiment at Manchester.<sup>49</sup> Enormous crowds were attracted to these events; 12,000 watched the train leave Darlington, 40,000 witnessed its arrival at Stockton Quay;<sup>50</sup> 10 to 15,000 were present at the first day of the Rainhill Trials when the train to be manufactured for the Liverpool to Manchester run was chosen<sup>51</sup> and 50,000 attended the opening the following year;<sup>52</sup> 5,000 alone gathered at one end of the Blisworth tunnel.<sup>53</sup> Where specific figures are not available, we can still deduce some idea of the attraction of the event. Thus from North London through to Limehouse, the banks of the Regent's Canal was lined with people.<sup>54</sup> Several thousand tickets were distributed via the proprietors alone for the East India Dock inaugural ceremony.<sup>55</sup> Contemporary newspaper accounts describe 'immense crowds' and reports that 'the towing-path was thronged with spectators' at the opening of the Thames and Medway Canal in 1824.<sup>56</sup>

And these events were by no means infrequent. At the height of the canal boom, sections, tunnels and so forth were being opened monthly.

We shall be discussing later the ideology and interests which lay behind the creation of these events. It is clear though that, like the landed interests who displayed themselves and their property for the benefit of 'harmony and stability', the rising bourgeoisie were not afraid to create ceremonies starring themselves as themselves in the role of all-powerful benefactor to the community. Additionally, as a result of their links with the nobility, older spectacular elements, such as army bands, were mobilized. But these events also brought to bear the new effects upon the spectators of speed and noise resulting in their terrified enjoyment and awe. In fact, the close ties between the industrial and landed interests was always an important factor although the relationship was rarely that of two equals. Thus, at the beginning of our period, landowners were undoubtedly the senior partner and, as a result, the dominant ideology was paternalist.

#### IV

As Perkin and others have emphasised 'one's place in that society was wholly determined by the amount and kind of one's own property - "the great source", as John Millar observed, "of distinction among individuals"'.<sup>57</sup> Further, it was essentially a patriarchal society, insofar as the male householder was deemed to have specific rights for, it was claimed, 'in his own house', even the cottager 'finds those who respect him, who obey him; those to whom he says go, and they go, and come, and they come'.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, however much families may have strived toward this ideal model, for the vast majority of the population, both male and female, who lacked any property, the 'rights' of the father probably remained somewhat sketchy.

Despite the continued propagation of the notion of a gently graded and ordered society, class divisions based on ownership, or otherwise, of property prevailed, as Hay notes with regard to the law, for

it was easy to claim equal justice for murderers of all classes, where a universal moral sanction was more likely to be found, or in political cases, the necessary price of a constitution ruled by law. The trick was to extend that communal sanction to a criminal law that was nine-tenths concerned with upholding a radical division of property.<sup>59</sup>

Belief in private property, however humble in value, and the right to enjoy it unfettered was the underlying factor and it bred a notion of the ideal person being the leisured landowner because it was he who had 'the freedom to pursue any interest, taste or pleasure consonant with the honour of a gentleman'.<sup>60</sup> The landed gentleman could do this, not merely because he was rich, but because his investments were in objects of conspicuous consumption. Similarly, such individuals could be considered 'gracious' because they preferred to maintain social control through influence and the occasional use of force rather than support anything other than the minimum in the way of centralized administration. Ritualized display was central to paternalist ideology because the subordinate classes were understood to be children, in need of constant reminders, examples, threats, bribes or just the 'loving' presence of their elders and, of course, betters. Douglas Hay, in his study 'Property, Authority and the Criminal Law' has pointed up the centrality of paternalism in beliefs about visible rule. He cites a report in Aris's Birmingham Gazette: 'sentencing a murderer at Gloucester in 1772, Justice Nares reminded him that his gibbeted bones would never enjoy Christian burial, but would hang "as a dreadful spectacle of horror and detestation, to caution and deter the rest of mankind"'.<sup>61</sup>

Similarly, Briggs refers to Burdett's comment that the House of Commons 'is the only spot in the world where the people of England are spoken of with contempt'.<sup>62</sup>

The governing class were able to maintain this comparatively low key mode of rule because of both their absolute dominance in all important institutions and, at the same time, the pervasiveness of their command. For the existence of a society of small towns and villages, where only the great and wealthy had freedom of movement, facilitated, what Perkin calls, 'the personal, face-to-face relationships of patronage'<sup>63</sup>, as too, did the multiple holdings of the landed interests, for, in order to exploit and control their properties, it was necessary to circulate between their houses. Peregrinations between houses were not new, but the pre-Civil War<sup>64</sup> practice of exhausting supplies had given way to other economic pressures associated with business, as well as expansion of recreational exploitation of land released from food production and, most significantly in this context, domination by physical presence. Hence, 'through seasonal residence in the localities and frequent re-union in metropolis and county and market town', the ruling class, as Perkin explains, 'kept in their own hands and concerted their control over all the strings of dependency and influence'.<sup>65</sup>

Visible rule was then, prior to 1780, central to the beliefs and practices of the ruling class who also had an almost entire monopoly of the resources, both material and ideological, to enable them to mount spectacles. However, as a result of the response in this country to the French Revolution, as well as poor grain harvests and the threats to the power of the landowners, mostly economic at this time, made by the bourgeoisie, a number of significant modifications were made to the basic ideology and practice of the governing class.

They were all reactionary in nature and directly resulted in overt enhancement of the most conservative elements of spectacle. When it came to justification for these measures, Burke, a leading proponent, argued for a constitution based on authority of precedent supplemented with wisdom and experience; his reverence for the constitution meant, in effect, reverence for tradition. Additionally, Burke entered a new plea for the mystique of the past, particularly of the constitution, not, it should be noted, the monarchy. He adhered strongly to the view of government through 'fraud, effigy and show' and advocated powerful visible instruction through pictures as part of wider claims for 'instinct, tradition, religious faith' and, chiefly, irrational assessments of history. Organic continuity and mysticism pointed to the romantic past of the Middle Ages in terms of imagery but, went further, in suggesting a revival of those institutions associated with deference and reverence.<sup>66</sup> This kind of government was appropriate, according to Burke, because human nature was an eternal mixture of good and evil. Despite the stated need to satisfy all of the individuals in society, Burke's coining of 'the swinish multitude' as a description of the majority of the population made it clear that he did not believe that they had any claim to the 'rights of men'. Further, Burke indicated that the 'process of nature' was complex and procrastinating and used this 'naturalistic' explanation to point out that innovation was full of unseen dangers.<sup>67</sup>

Burke's work was consistent with the action being taken by the government which we have already remarked upon, namely prosecution of all political opponents and active support for the production of propaganda. Similarly, steps were taken to strengthen the display forms within some institutions, most notably the law. Although, in London the procession to Tyburn had already been abandoned in favour



of execution immediately before Newgate, the change had not heralded any alteration in the belief in example nor of the highly theatrical form of the event. It is clear that the authorities were doubtful, given the increasing size and relative economic freedom of the urban population, as to the advisability of continuing the procession. Nevertheless, as Radzinowicz remarks, there was no serious disagreement amongst the principle legal commentators as to the validity of the doctrine of general prevention, namely 'open executions were based on the argument that the death penalty was the most effective deterrent and that, consequently, the more people who witnessed it the greater would be its salutary effect'. It was also contended that a public system exposes the offender to the full impact of the moral reprobation of the community and thus brings home to him the enormity of his crime'.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, capital acts continued to be added to the statute book well into the nineteenth century and, although more people were pardoned, the number of executions throughout England and Wales remained fairly stable, at least up till 1810.<sup>69</sup> The concomitant strengthening of the royal pardon, another paternalist institution, was a further demonstration of the reactionary attempt to prevent and reverse any innovation within the legal process. Finally, we may refer, in passing, to the boost which the corporations received, included in whose jurisdiction were the superceded local courts, whose maintenance was, partially, predicated on the eighteenth-century ideology of paternalism.

Nevertheless, these attempts to maintain aristocratic rule demonstrate how far the traditional forms of domination had been negated by the great changes in economic relations. In sum, the nobility were on the retreat and much spectacle was devoted to sustaining it during a period of declining economic power. Attempts to stren-

often visual display led to obsession with trivia, like titles, as F.M.L Thompson explains: 'preoccupation with rank, precedence and dignity was evident among the nobility. Within this circle obsession with the degrees of the peerage was a new phenomenon of the age'. The aristocracy now favoured elevations over sinecures, as rewards, for the more the wealth of capitalists increased, the more 'emblems of prestige' with which to extend the hierarchical principle were pursued.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, there was a considerable increase in the land held in great estates from 1790 and, up to the 1830s, a similar expansion in the size of aristocratic establishments.<sup>11</sup> Vast debts were accumulated in the same cause 'for in Regency times', Checkland observes, 'the cult of heavy and ostentatious outlay had made serious inroads into many estates'.<sup>12</sup> The old ideology was defunct so far as any real explanatory value was concerned, yet many members of the aristocracy had no insight as to the changes taking place and became fixated on antiquated forms. In contrast, in many crucial areas, it was clear to a considerable number of them that it was in their interests to adopt new forms of exploitation and the resulting inconsistency and lack of unity merely helped to point up the irrationality and injustice of landed rule.

Overall, the visual power of the aristocracy diminished, even though there was something of a revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The obsession with deference in games was yet another example of waning power for, as Thompson goes on to observe, by the early nineteenth century, it is likely that the town house 'had supplanted the scattered country houses as the most fashionable and agreeable location for the contest in wealth, display and extravagant

ingenuity'.<sup>73</sup> So whilst all these new interests gave much opportunity for display of the wealthy family, the did not strengthen the state for which other means had to be found - most notably force - but also far-reaching bureaucratic measures extending to the establishment of a whole range of new governmental bodies.

One of the most important cultural implications of Burke's plea for the past was what Thompson refers to as 'quasi-nationalist sentiment'. He suggests that in the early years of the Industrial Revolution, there is a likelihood of a growth in 'provincial pride and self-consciousness ... sharpened by loss, and a quasi-nationalist sentiment' mingling 'with class feeling in the culture of the industrial workers'.<sup>74</sup> Indeed quasi-nationalist sentiment, fed doubtless by the war, seems to have affected all classes; amongst the aristocracy and certain sections of the intelligentsia, the Scottish revival and fascination with the gothic may be mentioned. The attraction of the northern kingdom was a central feature of George IV's visit in 1822. Similarly, businessmen in Bradford revived the ancient ceremonial of the Bishop Blaize Festival, remounting it with all its old splendour in 1811, 1818 and 1825.

The nationalist revival in conjunction with the fanning of anti-French feeling helped, in the context of wartime, to legitimate a number of elements essential to spectacle. Hence military forms and rhetoric continued influential well beyond 1815 and appeared in events as dissimilar as Peterloo and the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway. However, orderly displays of terror, for which the military were obviously crucial, had been traditionally intermixed with use of the reactionary 'Church and King' mobs whose last major mobilization in 1791 took place when they were directed, by prominent citizens, at Birmingham dissenters. Certainly, by the

turn of the century, when city crowds had increased in size and autonomy, there was little eagerness on the part of the ruling class to exploit the volatility of the 'the mob'. Likewise, the use by progressives of military forms was designed partly to impress opponents and/or onlookers as well as to maintain command over their supporters for whom coherent political activity was a completely new experience.

So far as the governing class were concerned, the use of force could be better organized now that Volunteers could be recruited in order to 'defend' the country should the French invade. For, as Thompson observes, 'the Volunteer Movement in these years may not have alarmed the French, but it was a very powerful auxiliary force to the other resources of Church and State in repressing native Jacobins'.<sup>75</sup> The Volunteers were unashamedly used as the backbone of numerous spectacles held throughout the war years. In London, there was a review in 1798, the success of which seems to have prompted the expansion of the form, for 'the first of all Volunteer Reviews on a large scale,' which took place the following year, 'caused no little sensation at the time, and several fine engravings exist in commemoration of the event'.<sup>76</sup> The levels of recruitment as well as class of the volunteers varied across the country but, in the metropolis, for example, as Rudé observes, householders came forward readily enough after the prescription of a new up-to-date uniform and increased payment.<sup>77</sup> The comparative weakness of support for the government in the cities was made clear in 1804; '"in large towns," Sheridan said on behalf of the Government, "such as Birmingham, Sheffield and Nottingham, he should prefer associations of the higher classes, and in the country and villages those of the lower"'.<sup>78</sup> And, in London, as Rudé's study demonstrates, the vast majority of volunteers were drawn from the lower middle class, offi-

cered by a few gentlemen. They were used to provide spectacles in the shape of reviews such as those held in London during 1803 and to add extra colour to larger events for which they provided policing services such as at Nelson's funeral in 1806. Displays of this kind, whether held in parks or open ground near towns enabled the ruling class to express its actual power more strongly than it might have done given the attacks on structures of power at the end of the eighteenth century. Wartime legitimated the build up of forces, for ideological purposes on the home front.

Many of these reviews took place before a member of the royal family, an institution which suffered peaks and troughs of popularity with which we, of the late twentieth century, are quite unfamiliar. Nevertheless, there was a gradual shift in favour of monarchy-centred spectacles by the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, both classes perceiving that, for different reasons, the monarchy could play a role beneficial to their interests. The crown's functions came in for a review at the same time as aristocratic political power was challenged. At the end of the eighteenth century, Pitt had limited the influence of the crown and, notwithstanding protests from Windsor, this move proved to be part of a long-term trend. The monarch was still a potent paternal figure because of his real power as well as his integrating role in a system which upheld the dominance of the father, insofar as it was concurrent with the interests of the employer. However, the king was recognizably aligned with the aristocracy and made no pretense about this, although, on the whole, George III was apparently a popular figure. The first three Hanoverians did tussle with the aristocracy over power but the dominance of customary forms of visual display and the strong structural position of the nobility tended to preclude separate bids for legitimacy by

royalty. It was George IV who, because of his personal unpopularity, inability to stop continuing nibbles at the crown's power, attachment to the romantic conservative ideology of Burke, Coleridge, Scott and others made quite definite attempts (mostly unsuccessful) to appeal for traditional loyalty. In fact, it was the weakness of George IV's position which forced steps to be taken with respect to the monarchy which led to its extraordinary resurgence of popularity under Victoria. Thus, between 1812 and 1830, the seeds of the contemporary view and function of the royal family were sown. During our period, it was not the domestic purity of the royal family with which the people were asked to identify as today, rather the sovereign was offered as example, authority and figure of awe and love by virtue of his human qualities as well as demanding loyalty by right of office. The fact that George IV 'lost' his family through mutual disloyalty and their deaths was one reason for his de-emphasis of the monarch's paternal role but, unlike his predecessors, he put himself forward as first and foremost a figure of show, a national symbol, transcending all class or group interests. William IV took a further step along this road, for, according to Gore Allen, he articulated the problem as 'how, in beginning a new reign, he could convey to the English people a fresh idea of kingship' leading William to conclude that 'if the nation was to love the Crown, it was necessary that the nation should see the Crown in action. That, in personal terms, meant that the Sovereign himself must become accessible; accessible for as long as possible to as many people as possible'.<sup>79</sup> Although this position might have suggested an attempt to return to face-to-face rule, in fact the trend was toward allowing the 'nation' to observe that William was an ordinary human being. Hence Windsor Castle was opened to the public who were permitted to see the king carrying out his usual domestic activities, in



other words, he was proclaiming himself 'to be a man of bourgeois standards'.<sup>80</sup>

The impression made upon the monarchy of the strength of the industrial lobby was only one sign of a gradual shift in the balance of power. Even amongst conservatives, the 'entrepreneurial ideal', as Perkin has termed it, impinged upon the paternalist ideology. For although individuals, such as Sadler and Oastler, advocated a revival of ancient values and, in the influential periodical Blackwoods, journalists, like David Robinson, 'believed in the old harmonious relations between the interests maintained not by the "invisible hand" of competition, but by the visible hand of paternalism', other notions intruded.<sup>81</sup> In general, the revivalists appear to have aimed for centralized legislation in order to achieve full employment and adequate wages. Likewise, rather than the duty of the owners of landed property to their dependants which was, by the late 1820s increasingly irrelevant, they advocated service, namely voluntary commitment to satisfy the economic needs of the working class. For, by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the aristocracy themselves were abandoning the paternalist system, and the revivalists were only responding to the more blatant forms of the new mode of exploitation. The 'aristocratic onslaught on the "paternal system"', Perkin declares, 'achieved its zenith only with the attack on the poor laws in the years immediately following the Wars'.<sup>82</sup> The landed interest were just as heavily implicated in the exploitation of wage labour as the bourgeoisie.

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We have already discussed some aspects of spectacle organized by the bourgeoisie earlier in this chapter. However, we shall now se-

ek to expand on this with an outline of the main ideological formation, that is the entrepreneurial ideal. This will be followed by a brief analysis of the influence of the established mode of visible rule on early manufacturer's spectacle. From there, we shall move to a consideration of the aesthetic articulation of commodity production as it effected spectacle. The practical and ideological implications of religion are assessed in two cases; evangelicism within the established Church and the movements for repeal of religious restrictions like those inhibiting Catholics in Ireland. Finally, we shall take a glance at spectacular interpretations of bourgeois notions of democracy.

The end of the Napoleonic War marks the real beginning of the formation of the entrepreneurial ideal. The ideology sought to offer an explanation of the social structure as the product of the heroic endeavours of the entrepreneur. Whilst this notion was not fully articulated culturally until the middle of the nineteenth century, it was of significance in political and economic activity. The heroism of the bourgeois - capitalist or shopkeeper - has been noted by several commentators. Thus Hobsbawm remarks upon 'the industrialist middle class, conscious of creating a new capitalist order, and proud of it' and Checkland describes 'the heroic phase of the family, while its founders were establishing their great enterprises'.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, ideologues of the time were consciously pursuing this ideal. Hence Mill describes the middle class as 'the class who will really approve endeavours in favour of good government, and of the happiness and intelligence of men'.<sup>84</sup>

On what basis was this claim made? The entrepreneur was 'the lynchpin of society', for, as Perkin declares, 'although labour was the source of all wealth, it was capital which called it forth and set it in operation'.<sup>85</sup> Thus, although the world was no longer conceived as the centre of the universe, somehow the capitalist was still able to adopt the role for himself. . For in this conceptualization, the whole of society was dependant upon the good offices of the capitalist whose power as First Mover was acknowledged. Similarly, industrial production was considered to be the highest good to which men could aspire. However, by sleight of hand, even the small shopkeeper or artisan employer could conceive of himself as having minor godhead for did he not have, in small measure admittedly, those qualities identified with the successful accumulation of capital which were so revered? Self-interest became 'the love of freedom and independence' according to Davis who believed that 'a spirit of self-support raises a man in his own estimation; he feels his consequence in society, and nobly determines not to be obliged for any one for what his own industry can procure'.<sup>86</sup> Presumably in this schema there is not place for gratitude for what others' industry can procure the proprietor. Similarly, it was hard to see how 'self-support' was to be developed when payment of the lowest possible wage to the majority was considered to be an equally legitimate aim. However, 'industry' was the means whereby poverty could be overcome ideologues claimed for by this means any one could achieve great wealth. Was not Lord Chancellor Eldon, for example, 'a man who began in the world with no fortune but his education and his talents ... a living witness that there is at least one country in the world where merit can do everything'?<sup>87</sup> Actually, if Eldon liter-

ally had started out in the world simply as an educated man, then he would have been infinitely better equipped than the vast majority of men and even more of women, but the journalist's claim was a much greater exaggeration. Eldon's father whilst not a lord was certainly a wealthy Tyneside coal fitter.<sup>88</sup>

However, so crass was this ideology that even self-interest came in for its share of praise. For, as Perkin explains, free economic activity was the only sound basis for society because 'it led the self-interest of the individual to promote the good of the whole community, and, conversely, it guaranteed success to the most meritorious: those who best served the interest of the whole best promoted their own interest'.<sup>89</sup> In this way, the capitalist hoped to heighten his status further, for was it not through his abstinence that tremendous wealth accrued to the whole country? 'I substitute,' Nassau Senior proudly announced to the world, 'for the word capital, considered as an instrument of production, the word abstinence'.<sup>90</sup> Despite the centrality of the capitalist and his heroic suffering, even Senior wished to acknowledge the effort of the workers whose exploitation he so busily advocated. For, he claimed, 'wages and profits are the creation of man. They are the recompense for the sacrifice made, in the one case, of ease; in the other, of immediate enjoyment'.<sup>91</sup> Leaving aside the fact that sheer necessity drove people to work, we should note that what Senior, in common with many of his contemporaries was driving at, was a condemnation of the 'corruption' of the aristocracy. 'Corruption' during our period, was largely defined as domination via patronage; its importance so far as entrepreneurs was concerned may be demonstrated by the numerous metaphoric denigrations such as 'drone', parasite (of all sorts) and so on. Thus political domination, understood as the mono-

poly the nobility had over the parliamentary process was attacked but also the results which permitted the continuance of economic privilege. The landed interest were only beginning to be taxed and large amounts of capital in their hands was not available for investment. The criticism was another justification for the heroism of the entrepreneur who fearlessly risked his all and sacrificed immediate comfort for long-term benefits. No sacrifice, it was implied, was demanded of others, in contrast to the aristocracy whose warlike past was now turned against them. Trade wars and the like were quietly forgotten, instead wars were presented as the inevitable result of people being forced to band together against one another. As Place confidently states, 'men have been kept together for long periods only by the oppression of laws; these being repealed, combinations will lose the matter which cements them into masses, and they will fall to pieces. All will be as orderly as even a Quaker could desire'.<sup>92</sup> The capitalist as harbinger of peace became a potent image later in the century, as Butler appositely remarks, when the dominant notion was of Progress 'a kind of permanent international exhibition, a Crystal Palace in which the classes might worship the three gracious forms of Peace, Plenty, and Property'.<sup>93</sup>

Despite the extension of an invitation to worship at the shrine of the entrepreneurial god, great emphasis was placed on the significance of outward respect to certain non-capitalist individuals and groups. George Lewis, a liberal ideologist, placed considerable importance on the 'outward respect' to be shown to the King, from which we may speculate, he deduced a similar stance should be generally adopted between persons of the middle class.<sup>94</sup> For, however much contempt for others, was recognized as the motivating force,

God forbid it should show between fellow contenders in face-to-face interactions. The goddess status urged for middle-class women later in the century is well documented, although, like the monarch, they were not economically productive. The symbolically powerful function of a stable home was as great as that of a secure monarchy but middle-class women and the royal family were given small serious consideration. Whims might be satisfied, but effective power to act autonomously was limited. That contempt should be so applauded leaves the entrepreneurial ideal open to scorn. We may leave the last word with Owen who observed:

under this system there can be no true civilization; for by it all are trained civilly to oppose one another by their created opposition of interests. It is a low, vulgar, ignorant and inferior mode of conducting the affairs of society; and no permanent, general and substantial improvement can arise until it shall be superseded by a superior mode of forming character and creating wealth.<sup>95</sup>

However, the full articulation of the liberal democratic ideology had to wait until the nineteenth century for initially, the bourgeoisie had sought to exercise domination in the same way as the ruling class. 'The little communities built by Arkwright at Cromford, Strutt at Belper, Samuel Grey at Bollington, Styal and Caton and David Dale at New Lanark', Perkin declares, 'were self conscious models of paternal benevolence and discipline, ideal examples of the old society in miniature'.<sup>96</sup> In line with this traditional mode of domination, extravagant display on public occasions was an integral aspect. Hence, for one noteworthy event, we read that 'Sir Richard Arkwright ... arrived at Derby, accompanied by a number of gentlemen, etc. on horseback, his javelin men thirty in number, exclusive of bailiffs, dressed in the richest liveries ever seen there on such an occasion. They all rode on black horses. The trumpeters were mounted on grey horses, and elegantly dressed in scarlet



and gold'.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, as paternal force on the part of the state took over from discipline and benevolence after the French Revolution, the manufacturers also adopted the reactionary position, that is legitimated new forms of domination on the quite unfounded claim of maintaining traditional social relations. For, as E.P Thompson makes clear, 'the abrogation or repeal of "paternalist" legislation covering apprenticeship, wage-regulation, or conditions in industry' was part of the attempt to consolidate 'Old Corruption'.<sup>98</sup> And the anti-combination laws, according to Perkin, were a generalization of the repressive discipline of eighteenth-century economic relations.<sup>99</sup> Thus, those manufacturers who argued for tradition were, almost certainly, adopting tendentious positions.

A degree of shared economic interest and willingness on the part of the nobility to embrace the bourgeoisie via inter-marriage, could not prevent a challenge ultimately being offered to the dominance of the aristocracy. There was only so much potential for upward mobility and a limit to the amount peers were prepared to invest in the various manufacturing and transportation schemes. The struggle by the bourgeoisie to gain political power and strengthen their position vis à vis both the lower and upper classes was a significant factor in the favouring of spectacle over customary display - the trend of our period. It will be clear from our previous discussions that images associated with passive rule, the maintenance of an established system and so on could have no appeal for the middle class since it was not in the happy position of being dominant. Moreover, as was the case with the landed interests, portrayals of power were drawn from the source and consequences of the bourgeoisie's economic strength. Thus, at the general level, appeals to the other two social classes were grounded in the only too visible and rapid expans-

ion of industry. Quantity is an obvious aspect of capitalism and the mid-eighteenth century marks the genesis of the exhibition, possibly the most important form of bourgeois spectacle. At that time, agricultural societies were formed, one of whose aims was 'to encourage the adoption of new practices by exhibiting implements and machinery and by holding trials, offering premiums or prizes for the best results and for labourers who performed long and meritorious service'.<sup>100</sup> Gradually, the emphasis shifted to the display of goods, rather than skills and, even less, services, for capital makes the commodity the sole sign of productive labour. Yet it took some time for businessmen to grasp the importance of the form for in the early decades of the nineteenth century, outside rural shows by agricultural interests, exhibitions were typically devoted to novelties and entertaining ephemera.

In part this lacuna was less an oversight than a reflection of the comparatively low level of consumer production when compared to the vastness of the home market later in the century. For, as we have already noted, where significant returns were expected and where investment yielded visibly impressive constructions, opportunities for spectacle were grasped. Canals, docks and railways were not only obvious objects for applause, but such adulation was within a well-established tradition, for landowners already afforded constant opportunities for festivals and so on designed to place the ancestral home on display. Naturally, the dynamics of power were not the same in the capitalist's case for it was not continuity and tranquility but unceasing activity and hence the purely temporary nature of the achievement which was emphasized. Not ephemeral, in the sense of unsound construction, but as suggesting that, for example, each canal was but the basis of a whole network. The difference was al-

so a consequence of the bourgeois disdain of face-to-face rule arising from the nature of their wealth. In the early heroic era, direct relations between employer and employee meant there was still a place for the exercise of the bonds of personal loyalty. But as businesses expanded, the true nature of the wage relation was revealed. Accumulation, far-flung investment, protection of property, other than the home, and so on meant centralized, impersonal rule was favoured. Yet, in common with many subordinate groups, when it came to bidding for power held by the established ruling class, the bourgeoisie were forced to adopt visible display.

In this regard, the middle class gained organizational experience and ideological coherence from oppositional religious groups, both within the Church of England and amongst the 'old dissent'. Opposition, via religion took a different form amongst the middle class than amongst their subordinates since, in the main, their economic demands were more likely to be satisfied, although it is relevant that legislation in connection with manufacturing was less likely to be passed when it threatened the upper class. Broadly, the denial of political rights forced some members of the middle class to argue for radical religious changes. The implications of their stance is summarized by Briggs who argues that

Because the Evangelicals were a minority, the methods they pursued to secure their objectives were in some ways as significant as the objectives themselves...the Evangelicals, whose deepest hopes were centred not on this world but on the next, bequeathed to middle-class liberals a whole apparatus of efficient organization. Their use of magazines and tracts, their willingness to hold public meetings, their appeal to opinion and their foundation of voluntary societies pointed forward to the highly organized political movements of the middle classes later in the nineteenth century. Thus, the organization of the new moral outlook itself, was a pointer to change rather than a permanent guarantee of stability.<sup>101</sup>

Apart from tactics, religiously inspired groups organized associations with hierarchies, adopted via justifications derived from the

so-called inherent inequality of classes of individuals. Nevertheless, when it came to overt political claims e.g. repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the subordinate class were too powerful an element in the argument to be excluded, hence societies were founded which permitted their inclusion in deferential roles. The Catholic Association was formed by a group of Irish gentry who then instituted a second level of cheaper, passive membership for the peasants, run by parish priests. Thus decision making rested with the top layer and the mass membership provided the spectacular element at demonstrations. Tilly has emphasized parallels between the Irish struggle and the later English reform battles.

The success of O'Connell's Catholic Association in forcing the expansion of the political rights of British and Irish Catholics inspired the creation of political associations aimed at expanding the franchise and guaranteeing rights to assemble, organize and act collectively. A coalition of bourgeois and substantial artisans arose from that strategy, and helped produce the great Reform Bill of 1832. In this instance, the top-down organizational efforts of such leaders as Francis Place and William Cobbett were crucial. Nevertheless, in parish after parish the local dissidents decided on their own that it was time to organize their own association, or (more likely) to convert their existing forms of organization into a political association.<sup>102</sup>

On the mainland, the artisans could not be treated in exactly the same way as poor peasants but what lay at back of all these organizational developments were the bureaucratizing emphases, commitment to argument and belief in the superiority of the middle class by the middle class. This elevation of the capitalist meant, at the same time, a drive toward the universalization of business methods, including seeing 'ideas' as products requiring careful marketing to be combined with mobilization of the subordinate class, increasingly dependent upon industrial rather than agricultural capital.

However much democratizing procedures stemmed from middle-class opportunism, the structural basis for its rise cannot be ignored.

The interconnection between the employer and employee is inherent to industrial capitalism, as we have remarked above. Similarly, liberal ideologists embraced a primitive form of democracy, modelled to some degree, on that presented by the bourgeoisie in France. Again, this adoption was partly enforced by pressures from below but it also marked an awareness of the political implications of certain economic tenets, associated with the 'free' market, held to be sacred. Likewise, for both classes, political and economic developments can be seen as tied together as regards the gradual application of procedures of negotiation, discussion and so on. For the drives for a share of power monopolized by the landowners was not just toward the chance to rule in the same way (even in the case of the bourgeoisie) but to adapt the existing social structures. Monopoly rule was no longer considered legitimate, partly because even the entrepreneur could see he could not but found anyway that he wished not to have sole command. Rather a partnership between the landed and industrial interests was sought. One of the consequences of pluralism was the rapid increase in varying modes of explanation both within and across classes, for illustration, alone, is an inferior heuristic means, especially when 'ways of doing' become patently varied. In this regard, there was a significant interest amongst the middle and working classes on large-scale debate, a form of spectacle wholly foreign to the existing ruling class with their emphasis on authoritarian symbols of power. Wilberforce recognized the implications for, at his election to Parliament in 1802, he remarked 'the scene in which we are now present is indeed a magnificent spectacle. To see the freeholders of this great county assembled together and freely choosing their own representatives in Parliament, is a sight in the highest degree gratifying and animating to those who know the reel

(sic) nature and the high value of true liberty'.<sup>103</sup> The identification on the part of the platform with the body of the meeting is noteworthy as well as the acknowledgement of the legitimacy of decisions taken by a large gathering. Nevertheless, the notion of even manhood suffrage is clearly not present, rather the demand that existing parliamentary debate should be reflected in other forums is implicit in the writer's comments. The statement thus goes to demonstrate that the alliance fundamental in the enactment of reform throughout our period, was between land and industry. The personnel and groupings differed and could include or not small and large businessmen, gentry and nobility.

#### IV

In considering the last of our three principle belief systems, it is necessary to make a few preliminary remarks. Firstly, the coherency of the ideas held by the subordinate class is by no means so easy to establish as in the previous two examples, even analytically. As a result, this part will be more fragmentary. Further, we shall include a consideration of the beliefs of those who resisted the implications of capitalism, defensively and conservatively. Consequently, we may be open to the criticism that the traditionalism of these groups has been overemphasized. In response, we would argue that it was amongst rural workers - agricultural and domestic - that custom held most strongly and thus, for the purpose of an overview, they exemplify these values and goals. Finally, as we shall hope to show, because traditionalism received a boost during our period, it was a significant factor in oppositional stances based either on inadequate assessment of conditions or positions offering no basis for negotiation. We shall also take some account of the spe-



ctacles produced by those religious organizations which served to ameliorate some of the most alienating aspects of the transitional period. These groups have been identified by Gilbert and Perkin who have summarized the contribution of sectarian Christianity to oppositional groups.<sup>104</sup> And, in this connection, we shall examine the influence of the sects' organizational and aesthetic forms on the more overtly political groups, typically associated with reform, which were dominated by the middle class. Likewise, those movements, in particular the early Temperance societies, which took up many of the spectacular forms created by more spiritually-oriented sects, will be referred to.

At the end of the war, spectacle, as an aspect of a dominant ideology devoted to justifying a traditional society, was in the process of disappearing, for an ideology emphasizing dynamic growth was spearheading the attack. The progressive and individualist beliefs stressed expansion of human capacities and rights whether articulated in secular or spiritual rhetoric. The combination of the progressive stance toward democracy and structural limitations on achieving power, encouraged spectacle amongst groups calling for political and religious pluralism. Innovations, whose source lay in revivalist and evangelical practices, were influential for, as Methodism became routinized, lay groups, who were excluded from power or isolated as a result of the diminishment of conversionist endeavour, broke away from the main body and, adopting recreations of earlier Wesleyan methods, attempted to reach the still large numbers of artisans and the many domestic workers created by early manufacture. The need to capture a voluntary audience encouraged the use of entertainment, most frequently based on oral narrative. The prevalence of the practice of meeting in groups of varying sized in order to hear 'stor-

ies' underlay the methods of religious groups as different as the Tent Methodists and Temperance Societies. And, as we shall see below, it had important implications for the means whereby target groups were reached. So far as the religious associations were concerned, autobiographical accounts were probably the dominant genre. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the love-feast was used exclusively for this purpose, as a Geordie Methodist reports.

In the present day love-feasts, as means of grace, are used chiefly, if not exclusively, by the Moravians and the Methodists, and they are spiritual feasts, most carefully guarded from all carnal abuse. They commence with praise and prayer; in a few minutes a little bread and water is distributed, and a collection is made for the poor. The great portion of the time, allowed, which is generally about two hours, is occupied by such as feel disposed, in relating their own personal experience of the saving grace of God.<sup>105</sup>

The early Temperance Societies openly attracted support by means of this kind of event which was intended to be spectacular as this report demonstrates. 'At Preston we have no select place for speakers, no platform; and the meeting-place being in the form of an amphitheatre, every person can command a view of the whole congregation; hence the speakers rise in their different places, and tell their plain and honest tales to the great delight and benefit of the audience'.<sup>106</sup> Livesey's report is indicative of another aspect of religious spectacle; the hunger for dramatic enactments encouraged the emergence of new arenas in areas with increased populations or where the people were unprovided with suitable places. The religious groups made use of all sorts of halls and rooms which were adapted to meet their needs or, as at Preston, the event itself was made to fit the area. Likewise, it was during this period that tents made their first appearance at religious events. Furthermore, the processional form was a rich source of ideas. The walking prayer meeting, for example, was used to both drum up support and express

the power of societies, such as the Primitive Methodists, as against that of their enemies, included in which was the Methodist Society itself.

The political aspect of religious endeavours did not escape sect leaders who were, therefore often willing to exploit significant events for their own benefit. There was a massive increase in members in the early 30s, and, as the chronicler of Congleton Methodism remarks, 'the approach of that terrible scourge the cholera might contribute to this result; but be the cause of it as it may, it is a fact, that thousands upon thousands were added to the society at this period'. Yet, as Dyson goes on to point out, revivals 'arise not so much from internal life, as from external excitement. Special means may keep those who take an active part in conducting a revival agoing for a time, but if they are not sustained by deep heart-felt piety - internal life kept up by simple active faith - the work declines, and is followed by a reaction - a falling away'.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, revivals could be actively created in order to challenge the power of another religious sect or even branch of one's own, as at South Shields in 1820. 'A Love-Feast was held at North Shields, by Mr Hill, and as good had been done in the circuit, a revival became the subject of prayer and conversation amongst the lively methodists in the neighbouring circuits, hence expectation was excited, and a general stir was made!'.<sup>108</sup> Such events were often spectacular by virtue of their size, rhetorical displays involving singing, loud prayer and so on, the pre-planning and most importantly, their overt challenge to established (usually religious) interests.

Whatever the legal status of these groups after the war, there was no doubt that their existence was perceived by the ruling class as a challenge to the, by now, totally formal monopoly of the Church

of England. Customary church display had, in the main, been put out of court by the Civil War, although it still played a role in monarchical spectacle such as coronations and festivals to celebrate the recovery of the king's health. However, these were more typically urban events and, thus, whatever level of legitimation the Church of England may have had in the rural districts, it could not supply a high level of independent visible rule. Naturally, its ministers presided at major legal events, but the authoritarian nature of its attempts at control, as well as the anti-popery feeling in the country precluded the dramatization of power familiar to Catholics. Nevertheless, there was a place for spectacle in the ideology of the democratic religious groups as we shall see in our study of camp meetings for, with them, the communalism of the village blended with the mystical power faith attaches to a mass of worshippers enabling them to develop forms which would further conversion and strengthen bonds within the society.

This community oriented culture was 'oppositional' that is, there was resistance on a 'them and us' basis grounded in doubts, resentment and some degree of adaptation to changes in structural conditions. The response was typically expressed in the rhetoric of 'golden ageism' that is the ideology of reworked traditional values in conjunction with opposition to structural change. The 'resistors' to capitalist ideology amongst the working class consisted chiefly of domestic outworkers and agricultural labourers who sought to defend many of the customary rights they had enjoyed in pre-capitalist Britain. This traditional ideology emphasized the values of paternalism and deference; as for the economy, it defended the interests of the 'trade', 'just price' and a wage justified by status. It was a paternalist moral economy in which consumer protection was in

the form of customary controls. Prices, rather than wages, were the major form of discontent and, until 1816, hostility was directed toward shopkeepers and middlemen as it was commonly believed they were responsible for high prices.<sup>109</sup> More open class antagonism was deflected by notions of 'connection and attachment' between social strata, and certain obligations were honoured by the employer. The worker responded to incentives but only so as to earn enough to be comfortable at his 'God-given' social level.<sup>110</sup> Any increase would be directed into shorter hours or leisure activities. Thus, typically, for the worker, the goal was immediate subsistence based on the availability of work in the neighbourhood. Travel, in search of work, outside the community was not unusual but was not positively sanctioned by an ideology which emphasized attachment to home and family as the appropriate source of satisfaction. Legally enforceable ties were legitimated by an ideology which made the village the political and social universe. Similarly, positively sanctioned rituals were typically customary and involved quite a high degree of direct intervention by members of relevant institutions, such as the established Church or individual landowners.

Continued adherence to communalism meant that opposition to changes brought about by the development of capitalism was often seen as a 'stopgap'. Consequently, following on changes in wages and prices, the opposition to mechanization led to a broad alliance including even small master-clothiers, although frequently resistance was articulated in the form of demands for the restoration of lost status and included a concern with quality of work.<sup>111</sup> Likewise, both domestic outworkers and agricultural labourers associated self-employment and communal status with good work.<sup>112</sup> The active resistance involving action against ancient enemies - the shopkeeper and

grain supplier - has been noted by Hobsbawm, Rudé, Tilly et al.<sup>113</sup> A report in the Annual Register for 1816 of a food riot states the people 'threatened to march to London' indicating there was some notion at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, that prices were a national/political issue. However without a plan of action, the real expression of dissatisfaction was at the local level.<sup>114</sup> Food riots and machine breaking were the political expression par excellence because the ultimate aim of the groups involved lay in restoration of the traditional order. The 'resistors', as Thompson has pointed out, 'looked backward to old customs and paternalist legislation which could never be revived'.<sup>115</sup> For example, the weavers and shearers attempted to get Parliamentary legislation to defend their trade and there was contact between them across England, but, at least during the gig-mill breaking of 1802, letters were still written over the authority 'By Order of the Community'.<sup>116</sup> Commitment to parochialism rather than inability to overcome the difficulties of organizing a national movement indicates that the dispossessed cottager, squatter and outworker were sustained by the ideology of 'golden ageism'. It should, however, be stated that the use of traditional rhetoric does not always demonstrate adherence to the notions it represents for educational inequality alone can explain much of such language.

The ideology was based, then, in part on real conditions prior to the Industrial Revolution but it was also the product of contemporary bourgeois interests. The small masters canvassed in the 1790s against the large manufacturers.<sup>117</sup> Similarly, the woolcombers of Barnstaple were anxious not to be a 'burden' on the state, an indication of acceptance of 'responsibility' by the individual for his situation.<sup>118</sup> Changes in conditions were so rapid that, by 1810, and increasingly after the end of the war, outworkers in some branches



of cloth production could already look back to a past of plenty. The 'golden age' of the weavers, as Radcliffe points out, was between 1788 and 1803.<sup>119</sup> Thus it was almost certainly the rapidity of change which supplied the conditions for the ideology of a community of self-supporting cottagers and craft workers. Furthermore, rural workers were under-employed, pauperized and politically isolated. Precisely because they were the least conscious elements of the working class and the most parochial, the past might be expected to be the most easily painted in mythical terms without much consideration for existence in a particular locus of time and space. Moreover, the destruction of the pre-industrial economy had wrecked the complex relations which had sustained village and small-town life, yet left people to survive in these areas, often with no alternative sustenance, psychic or physical, being offered. The pervasiveness of this particular form of alienation helped make traditionalism an even stronger force than it was immediately prior to the Industrial Revolution.

It is clear, though, that this ideology is chiefly of significance in spectacle for what it epitomizes, namely the continuance of simple, localized democratic forms and the use of symbols and devices such as the guy and drum. Similarly, the communalism which underpins the belief asserted itself amongst workers in extracting industries like coalmining and quarrying who were often active in traditional protest and some religious sects.<sup>120</sup> Perkin has identified this disparity, pointing out 'the working class was never so united or self-confident as the capitalist middle class, partly because it was by its nature more fragmented, still more because its ideal was ambiguous in itself and led to diverse and conflicting means of pursuing it'.<sup>121</sup> We have in our discussion of religious spectacle

attempted to discuss one expression, for what lay at back of golden-ageism was the same ideology as that which underpinned many of the sectarian religions because, for the working class, the 'ideal citizen was the productive, independent worker, and its ideal society an equalitarian one based on labour and co-operation'.<sup>122</sup> The overlap between secular and spiritual activity is only the more obvious aspect of spectacle involving the subordinate class. Thus, we are told of one of the founders of the Temperance movement that 'with Mr Livesey, Temperance work was in its very nature religious work. Temperance could only be taken up and prosecuted in this way, as a matter of religious duty'.<sup>123</sup> Livesey, himself, was anxious to emphasize the 'broad Church' nature of the movement for, he claimed, 'the principle upon which persons have hitherto entered Temperance Societies is this, that all sects and parties are equal, and that no religious peculiarities should be introduced into the tracts of the meetings'.<sup>124</sup>

Similarly, the influence of both radicalism and evangelicism may be found in the reform agitation. The principle form of spectacle during this period was the large-scale public meeting of which that held in Birmingham in October, 1831 was probably the apogee. The Political Union which organized it was the top-down form of the middle class aiming 'to guide and direct the public mind into uniform, peaceful, and legitimate operations, instead of leaving it to waste its strength in loose, desultory, and unconnected exertion, or to carve a way to its own objects, unguided, unassisted, and uncontrolled'.<sup>125</sup> But the statement, whilst addressing itself to the 'public mind' - a euphemism for the middle class - also clearly recognizes the existence of large numbers of autonomous societies, whose members, namely the working class, required 'guidance, assistance and cont-

rol'. Thus the outline is more in the way of a compromise with the autonomous activity of the subordinate class, and, indeed, the hallmark of the Unions was their federal nature and populist tactics. Rather than concentrating on production of pamphlets and appealing to individuals, the organizations aimed to mobilize existing associations and made use of a mixture of evangelical and radical methods. The October meeting was held out-of-doors (the previous ones had been indoors), organizations came from far afield with own banners and bands. Despite the numbers, estimated at 100,000 to 150,000, there was but one platform.<sup>126</sup> This format of an outdoors, but aurally restricted meeting was certainly a compromise for as early as 1795, radicals had created a far more dynamic structure for meetings. In the autumn of that year, the London Corresponding Society called a meeting and utilized three platforms, operating independently. The event was a success and a remonstrance to the king was adopted, but, mainly because of the lack of coordination, many still could not hear. However, in November, the same society called a meeting with a chairman synchronizing the three platforms and a system of signals permitted the entire gathering to vote together.<sup>127</sup>

Apart from the practical and symbolic implications of this mode of structuring the meeting, the claims for an extension of justice were legitimated by the very spectacle itself. An LCS activist, John Gale Jones, told one vast meeting that they presented 'a spectacle at once sublime and awful, since it seems as if the whole British nation had convened itself upon this extraordinary occasion to witness the propriety of our conduct, and testify for the legality of our proceedings'.<sup>128</sup> Here the notion of size and quantity as justification is transformed into a democratic and moral account and transferred to a gathering of progressives whose very physical pres-

ence is testimony to the legitimacy of the endeavour as well as a way of ensuring, via the judgement of the crowd (drawn from the lower class) the appropriateness of the decisions taken. Thus spectacle becomes a reciprocal process, the expression of power turns into a joint endeavour between the leaders and followers, yet the visual effect is not weakened, nor is it less important. However, at the Birmingham meeting, legitimation was sought for elsewhere, since the gathering was blessed by a minister, an act with a variety of significations. The state used the Church of England to legitimate its domination suggesting they were acting in accord with the will of God and for the good of all, hence the significance of the minister's presence for the claim, by the middle class, that they both were and represented the nation. So far as the middle class itself were concerned, the minister was important for attracting support from those who had doubts as to the justice of their activities and individuals who still perceived the only legitimate protest in religious terms and this, as we have seen, embraced members of the lower class. Finally, at events the organizers were attempting to establish as having national significance, religion could still be used to stimulate spectacle and to provide a further source of symbol and rhetoric.

## VII

The previous lengthy sections were devoted to an explication of the main ideological positions and the kind of spectacle associated with them. However, no consideration was given as to how the spectators were gathered nor the means whereby target groups in general were approached. Generating an audience for displays of visible rule and the occasional spectacles as well as maximizing their messages through dissemination of reports of the event were, in many re-

spects, easier in the eighteenth century since, typically, the intended spectators lived in the immediate vicinity. In general, news of a hanging, for example, could be spread by printed matter, such as newspapers and handbills; word-of-mouth, the pulpit and presence at the trials also facilitated the build-up of an audience, not to mention established hanging days, as at Tyburn. Publication, within the wealthy sections of the community was facilitated by their frequent travel, use of courier and the letter. In the case of the subordinate classes, the hawker and tramping artisans could be relied upon for news and, for really crucial matters, there was a limited and expensive post. Similarly, the effect of the event could be enhanced by maximum publicity: the newspaper accounts were matched by the chapbooks and the local religious groups, of whatever denomination, often picked on contemporary events to illustrate a maxim of their ideology.

There was always a difference between first stage mobilization and second stage dissemination and the class of the producers largely determined which methods were used in both categories. Nevertheless, these divisions were not static and groups amongst the middle and working classes struggled to avail themselves of the prevailing communication systems, dominated by the ruling class. The development of the press was a crucial issue throughout the Industrial Revolution and has been much commented upon, for all classes, sooner or later, perceived its mobilizing and disseminating importance. However, as Williams has demonstrated, 'the economic organization of the press in Britain has been predominantly in terms of the commercial middle class which the newspapers first served'.<sup>129</sup> It was only really from the end of the war that the middle class press began to develop as the organs of 'respectable' reform, with a readership in-

creasing in size and coherency; this development was noteworthy in the provinces where 'circulations were two or three times those of their Tory, Whig and working-class Radical rivals, and collectively rivalled the London newspaper press'.<sup>130</sup> Although these papers were stamped and thus not subject to prosecution under the Publications Act, they did not escape libel actions; journalists from the Morning Chronicle in 1798, the Cambridge Intelligencer in 1799, The Times in 1821 to mention but three instances were subject to prosecutions resulting in fines and imprisonments.<sup>131</sup> Still, they were able to fulfill both publicising functions with comparative ease. As the power of the bourgeoisie grew, the emphasis on business news came to embrace the adoption by the provincial and metropolitan press of overtly political positions. It may be that the role of the pro-reform press amongst the middle class was further legitimated by the government's subsidies to London daily papers and quarterlies. Yet, as Williams suggests, 'when the situation is seen as a whole, it seems that while influence could obviously be bought, it was bought because of the strength and effect of the press'.<sup>132</sup>

Mobilization of the middle class through the press was increasingly common throughout this period. There were contacts between proprietors and association activists allowing detailed reports of spectacles with favourable editorial commentary. The papers reached many more than those households who could afford a taxed daily paper and even the middle class were glad to avail themselves of 'buying by institutions'; coffee-houses were obviously important as their centrality in commercial practice was already well established.<sup>133</sup> Similarly dissemination of spectacle effect was likely to be enhanced by the public nature of news acquisition. Thus the newspaper assisted both mobilization and dissemination amongst the mi-



ddle class.

For the working class, the paper had similar functions but with important differences. National organization continued to be extremely difficult and, even at the end of our period, the working class had not achieved the degree of recognition the bourgeoisie had managed to wrest from the government, thus magazines and newspapers continued to report and disseminate more locally. The Neo-Methodist breakaways, like the Primitive Methodists, always aimed to publish a society magazine in order to mobilize and disseminate. Restrictions on circulation were alleviated by making use of the post and the long tramp. Semi- and completely illegal publications abounded before the Six Acts of 1819 with the Political Register achieving a circulation of 60,000.<sup>134</sup> Prior to 1819, the papers contained news as well as opinion on theory and organization and the Sunday papers, whose circulations were well above the dailies, mixed reportage with entertainment. Even though the radical press was subject to attack, it regained its strength in the late 1820s with the publication of new journals and newspapers such as the Voice of the People, The Pioneer and so on. Dissemination of descriptions and commentary on spectacle whoever mounted it was likely to increase in the working-class press for reasons other than straightforwardly political. In general, the popular press was radical in tone but the commercial press was also anxious to find items of news which supplied the 'entertainment' side of journalism. The radical press gave lengthy descriptions of their own spectacular events anyway and the conversionist oriented Neo-Methodists were still concerned with large-scale visual events even though routinization often provoked discussion as to their format. Williams summarises this unifying tendency of the press stating that

just as the eighteenth-century newspaper had absorbed a proportion of 'magazine interest' so these nineteenth-century papers absorbed the chapbook, ballad, and almanac interest, and at a much cheaper price. This is the recurring tendency in the history of journalism: the absorption of material formerly communicated in widely varying ways into one cheaply produced and easily distributed general-purpose sheet.<sup>135</sup>

Although the working class press was penalized, there were still the networks of communication established prior to the Industrial Revolution and, indeed, throughout our period, they almost certainly increased. The old drove roads along which cattle were moved to the great markets in the Midlands and London continued to be used until the middle of the nineteenth century when livestock was transported by rail. They were of particular value for communication since they were designed to avoid the main roads where the drivers would be liable to toll as well as the general inconvenience of traffic.<sup>136</sup> Footpaths were still the country persons' main means of communicating but the rise of manufacturing towns and, in particular, industrial villages meant that many families uprooted themselves from their homes and moved to the nearest possible centre of employment. As Redford has shown, the bulk of internal migration was over short distances which suggests greater chances for families and friends to keep in contact.<sup>137</sup>

In contrast with the progressives' aim of increasing the potential audience and subsequent effect, the ruling class preferred to limit this tendency, even for spectacles mounted by themselves, by concentrating on local inhabitants. Thus, rather than encourage reading of the same newspaper, whatever its tenor, in workshops, public-houses and newsrooms, they preferred to give their subordinates the day off to attend events mounted by the local nobility. In this way a maximum audience was insured and the benevolence of the act of providing 'entertainment' was backed up by the recollection

of having been granted a day's holiday as well. National coordination by the ruling class was solely for their own benefit, permitting arbitrary encouragement to travel many miles to attend the state funeral for Pitt, for example, by way of maximum publicity for this metropolitan event. Censorship was a very important way of suggesting that only the state was willing to provide means whereby the community or nation, the only entity to which the ruling class would admit to propounding in their spectacle, could celebrate their power. Limiting news of one's opponents' expressions of power inevitably enhances one's claims to rule and may favour legitimation, for the isolated individual or small group is much more likely to be vulnerable to the idea that they are criminal or insane. The deeper into the nineteenth century we get, the fewer reports in the establishment papers there were of the rural and urban customary displays and the greater the emphasis on reports of sporting fixtures and entertainment. Similarly, in the early thirties, the metropolitan socio-political world was less in evidence, for the ruling class were beginning to prefer to make their political activity less overt and finding, too, that it was not necessary for them to display the trappings of birth in order to maintain dominance.

So far as publicising to target groups not present at spectacles was concerned, there was considerable change in the policy of the governing class. Alongside vigorous attempts to suppress the growing political publications critical of the status quo, tacit and monetary support was given to other printed matter. Of course, developments in the area of spectacle were part of a more general policy, as Williams makes clear.

The heavy taxation of newspapers was supplemented by a series of prosecutions aimed at killing the whole radical press. A different response to the same danger was the development of cheap tracts, of

an 'improving' kind, designed to counter the success of Cobbett and others, and these were heavily subsidized in this first stage. Meanwhile, at the really popular level, the sale of almanacs, ballads and broadsheets continued to increase.<sup>138</sup>

However the persistent resistance to autonomous associating by crowds of their subordinates meant that there were numerous prosecutions of the illegal theatres within which capitalizing on the major spectacles mounted by the ruling class was a standard mode of attracting audiences. The management at Covent Garden and Drury Lane were often ambivalent as regards these forms of entertainment but the minor theatres were in no doubt. Sometimes massive structural changes were made to the buildings to permit these redramatizations and further profit was made by restaging them with either the thinnest of excuses or none at all. Whole dramas were written occasionally to enable the props and costumes of remounted processions to be used yet again. Thus, it appears that although the lower class were increasingly sceptical of events produced by the nobility, they were eager to experience the entertainment implicit in state sponsored spectacle.

Traditional modes of communication, either designed for, or by now restricted to the lower classes, were contested by progressives, too. Hence when many parish associations became dominated by reformers in the late 1820s, the parish officers were often forced to carry out duties connected with parish and parliamentary reform; the crier was used to summon inhabitants to hastily convened meetings in various London parishes during the fraught days of autumn, 1831. Similarly, in 1802, 'the mail coaches were placarded PEACE WITH FRANCE in large capitals, and the drivers all wore a sprig of laurel, as an emblem of peace, in their hats',<sup>139</sup> yet the same method was used to disseminate information about the progress of the reform bill.<sup>140</sup>

In general, the period marks rapid gains by the middle class as regards generating audiences for spectacles and disseminating information about them. They were able to maintain and control their own newspapers and associations as well as intervene in established modes of communication previously dominated by the ruling class. The same results were not reaped by the working class who continued to struggle over the issues of news publications, autonomous gatherings and other restrictions well beyond 1832. Further, as bourgeois values began to impinge, the aristocracy pulled in its horns in the areas of public display. Rule by visible power was abandoned for positive reasons based on a long-term strategy, enabling proper integration of spectacle. Individual aristocrats cut the quantity of customary display and the Church of England, an important source of legitimation for these events, began to redirect itself, as it came to terms with its pluralist position. 'By the early 1830s', Gilbert observes, 'the feeling that the religious Establishment faced the alternatives of reform or "complete destruction" had built up sufficiently to break through the massive impediments to organizational innovation and pastoral renewal which had retarded for so long the Church's adjustment to the new society of early industrial England'.<sup>141</sup> Not only was individual display reduced, but retrenchment by the crown was encouraged, for the cost of William IV's coronation was but £30,000 as opposed to the £240,000 spent on his elder brother's enthronement.<sup>142</sup> and, in line with the emphasis on domesticity at Windsor, a cut in the cost of upkeep was possible.<sup>143</sup> But economies in state spectacle were only temporary; the monarchy was responding to the unpopularity of the institution as well as an ideology of circumspection, self-control and productivity. For 'in turning from pomp and circumstance to investment and income as the bulw-

arks of status', F.M.L Thompson concludes, 'such aristocrats were already moving towards conceding that it was wealth pure and simple which counted, not birth and tradition'.<sup>144</sup> The state use of spectacle continued but was bound in with a different kind of ideology of rule, an issue which, like many of those we have raised, will be returned to in the special studies comprising the following three chapters.



### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE FIRST BRITISH CAMP MEETING

In the spring of 1807, a group of radical Methodists, having their base in the mining district close to Stoke-on-Trent, determined to stage a camp meeting. The title was taken from the first- and second-hand reports which had percolated through to the principally artisan revivalists of similar happenings in the United States. They had heard of enormous events, sometimes lasting for weeks at a time, where thousands were attracted to hear the word of God. The spectacles were unique, not only for their duration but because of their democratic and dramatic qualities. Individuals were free to take to any one of many platforms to address the crowd in any form they chose. Thus speakers delivered sermons, accounts of historical events, some of which they had witnessed, biographical narratives - sometimes in verse or, at other times, prose, unrehearsed or using their own writings. Further diversity was created by utilizing the skills of local revivalists in groups providing more-or-less synchronized loud prayer. As the background to all this activity were large tents where communal feeding and sleeping occurred. And, at night, the camp was ablaze with torchlight. Spurred by these accounts (and other factors to which we shall come), the little group determined to reproduce these splendours.

I

At about six o'clock on the rainy morning of 31 May, 1807 at Mow Cop, a ridge running at points close to Bemersley and Harriseahead, villages lying a few miles to the north of Stoke-on-Trent, the first British camp meeting opened. The day's events commenced with a singing and praying service, followed by a sermon delivered from a st-

and erected close to a stone wall. From then on, there was a constant supply of speakers to provide sermons or statements of Christian experience. By noon, a second preaching stand had been built and, in order to direct the visitors, some of whom came from as far afield as Warrington, a flag-pole was put up. In the early afternoon, two more stands were constructed so that until four o'clock, there were four preachers working simultaneously. In addition, probably shortly after the meeting commenced, praying labourers in groups scattered over the whole area worked with individual visitors who, having become affected by either the speakers or the atmosphere at the camp meeting, were in spiritual turmoil. At four o'clock, the numbers began to diminish and by six o'clock, three of the stands had been abandoned. An hour later, the preachers and praying labourers, who were now taking the dominant part in the proceedings, began to direct their attentions to the children present. Finally, at about half past eight, the meeting was closed.

The principle protagonists were, of course, those who took to the preaching stands, almost certainly built up from scratch out of timber. We do not know all their names but there was Peter Bradburn, Edward Anderson, William Clowes, and Hugh Bourne; they and the other unrecorded speakers hailed from Knutsford, Congleton, Wheelock, Burslem, Macclesfield and, at least one Irish man was recorded. No women were mentioned but, as there was no ban on their preaching, and cases of female preachers were recorded, it is probably reasonable to assume that some of the contributions came from them. Similarly, our information regarding the occupations of the preachers is incomplete although we can get some idea of the distribution. The majority were probably artisans - there were potters, a carpenter - and one man was a retired sea-captain. However, a large number were almost

certainly miners and agricultural labourers since they were the main occupations in the immediate district and individuals drawn from these spheres were active in the local Methodist Society.<sup>1</sup> These actors provided diverse types of address. Bourne, a dominant figure in the camp meeting movement, identified at least three, namely 'preaching', 'exhortation' and 'relating experiences'.<sup>2</sup> The first kind, preaching, referred to a more formal address around a text or set of texts whereas to exhort involved exposition of the main points of the revivalist conversion message. Clowes indicated that the revivalists called 'to all to look immediately to the Lord by faith for a present salvation'.<sup>3</sup> Those who related experiences can perhaps be subdivided into individuals who gave biographical accounts and the remainder who instanced significant events, like the war in Ireland as proof of some point of argument. Whatever the differences, generally the speakers were not concerned with theological niceties since the spectacle was intended as a united attempt to win people to God.

Concurrently, the praying labourers i.e. believers who had 'formed themselves into companies, and prayed and rested by turns'<sup>4</sup> worked together either to provide prayer for the benefit of all those in their vicinity or to strain with a 'mourner' that is someone going through the conversion process. The 'mourner' was typically 'in deep distress' and required much 'pleading with Heaven in their behalf'<sup>5</sup> until they came through into the firm belief that 'their sins, which were many had all been forgiven'.<sup>6</sup> This work took place either in the area near to the preaching stand or away from the crowds. The praying labourers were members of congregations based in Lancashire, Cheshire and Staffordshire. A large group came from Macclesfield, an extremely important Methodist centre, where notwithstanding

losses due to the breakaway of the New Connection, there had been a steady increase. At the time of the first camp meeting, it was part of the same preaching circuit as Burslem, one factor which facilitated contact between the chapel members of Harriseahead and those in the Cheshire town. Newtown Chapel was situated in the new housing development created for the benefit of the immigrants drawn to Macclesfield which was the principal manufacturing district in Cheshire. Immigration may well have helped establish contacts between the two groups because the largest number were drawn from Staffordshire.<sup>7</sup> Naturally the people from Harriseahead and Mow Cop provided many of the praying labourers. The members were overwhelmingly drawn from the collier part of the community and the chapel itself had been established in the teeth of the opposition of the circuit fathers. A praying company also came through from the Risley Society of Dowites, one of several sects which had formed as a result of the influence of Lorenzo Dow, the American bearer of the news about camp meetings. Dow had visited the region earlier in the year so it seems likely that the Risley group was established at the same time. Peter Bradburn, a close ally of Hugh Bourne, was active throughout the day, so the chances are that he brought his group over with him from Stockport particularly as they were influential in developing the idea of and methods utilized by the praying labourers. The group was a radical revivalist sect in a district where Methodism was increasingly influential.<sup>8</sup>

Although the publicity for the event was somewhat ad hoc, it seems to have involved word-of-mouth to selected groups and posting of notices for more public consumption.<sup>9</sup> Notices were definitely posted in Burslem and Congleton and the people in the Mow Cop district were doubtless aware that something was afoot. Given this kind

of catchment area what sort of people would it be reasonable to expect might have attended? As we shall see below, the local Methodists most active in the camp meeting movement broke away from the main body only four years after their first venture. Figures are available giving details of membership numbers and occupation for the Primitive Methodists (the name the breakaway group adopted). As Gilbert has demonstrated, its growth was rapid and significant amongst the labouring strata. Between 1800 and 1837, the Church had 16.1% as opposed to the Methodists' 9.5% membership drawn from unskilled industrial and agricultural workers. Also, predictably, their collier membership was 12.5% as opposed to the Methodists' 7.6%. The rural emphasis of the sect is illustrated by the comparatively high percentage of farmers who joined, bearing in mind the unskilled bias of the membership (P.M. 5.6% and Methodist 5.5%).<sup>10</sup> It is likely that the majority of those listed as farmers were in fact freeholders farming their land themselves with the assistance of their families, for on nearly half the farms in Cheshire, no labour was employed.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the North Staffordshire moorland was poor farming land and this factor in conjunction with the enclosure of commons and waste taking place tended to produce numbers of unskilled industrial workers. This kind of enclosure movement also had significance in Cheshire where pasture was crucial in a county which was dominated by animal husbandry.<sup>12</sup> Direct evidence is somewhat sparse; we know that the founder members of HARRISEAHEAD chapel were colliers<sup>13</sup> but there was also a blacksmith and a carpenter. Later a number of people became involved in the revivalist work taking place in the vicinity and they were mainly potters.<sup>14</sup> Finally, early Primitive Methodists in Congleton were stone masons, silkmen, and a flax dresser and rope maker are also mentioned.<sup>15</sup>

The behaviour of the spectators varied; Bourne reported that they were 'hearing with attention solemn as death' whilst at other times, they 'were trembling or rejoicing around'.<sup>16</sup> Clowes noted the simultaneity of response for, at one point, he observed 'thousands listening affected with "thoughts that breathed and words that burned"; many in deep distress' and others were pleading with or praising God.<sup>17</sup> Bourne refers to 'a few stragglers' in his published account but his passing remark is the only reference suggesting anything other than responses within a broad consensus.<sup>18</sup> It may well be that little if any opposition was articulated at this particular camp meeting because both Bourne and Clowes were anxious to report all the obstructions presented by the Methodists and particular individuals. In fact, they sought rather to underline the opposition faced both before and after the breakaway partly to legitimate the split and also to enhance their claims for leadership. Finally, emphasis on suffering helped to justify the kind of organizational structure created during the early days of the sect.

The numbers of spectators were put in the thousands and Bourne estimated that something between two and four thousand people were present at the ground at any one time. The breadth of the estimation is doubtless a reflection of the changes which took place in the population during the day.<sup>19</sup> Clearly, this is a considerable number of people for a comparatively poorly advertized meeting held in a rural district. Perhaps a better idea of the implications of the figure can be arrived at when the actions of the organizers and primary target group after the spectacle are considered. The financial investment not to mention time and effort expended on the next camp meeting held in July was largely based on the effectiveness of the May event in attracting recruits to the movement. Further, a



pamphlet hymning the praises of the spectacle was published by the members of Harriseahead chapel and widely circulated. Finally, the local Wesleyan Methodist conservatives only mobilized in opposition to camp meetings after this first one in May for, until then, they presumably hoped and possibly were convinced that little would come of the organizers' ideas.

The spectacle embodied a set of claims which a large number of people in the Methodist Society took to be a direct challenge to the leadership. We shall consider below how far their assessment was correct, since what concerns us now is how far the camp meeting could be viewed as a spectacle. It is clear that the members of one institution believed it to be a symbolic expression of power. Other threats were issued after the camp meeting had taken place, notably by a master potter. The equivocal legal position of the organizers and preachers meant that for the next event, it was thought wise to get the site and preachers licensed from the Lichfield bishopric and Stafford magistrate. The controls over spectacle produced by dissenters was, or deemed to be, a challenge to the status quo. How far this was really the case may be in doubt if the camp meeting is viewed purely and simply as a religious event. But since much oppositional activity was still at a pre-political level, we should look again. Firstly, in 1807, the secondary target group, i.e. the working and lower middle class Christians and Non-Christians, appear to have been very receptive to the ideas as well as the whole format of the camp meeting. Organized opposition is not recorded and this is remarkable when compared with what happened at eighteenth-century outdoor religious meetings where the preacher was often physically assaulted or indeed at camp meetings held in London later in the century.<sup>20</sup> Secondly, recruitment figures were consid-

dered exceptional by the organizers<sup>21</sup> and, indeed, in the early years, the Primitive Methodists proportionately far outdid recruitment in other Methodist groups, even those which were also new and might expect to experience a similar early burst of success.<sup>22</sup>

So what was being said and the way it was being stated was hitting the target group. We shall be looking at the ideology in more detail below but, in essence, it was an account of moral problems, openly designed to explain secular conditions and articulated in a culturally dynamic manner. Legitimation rested squarely on the particular, local conditions and sought to account for tensions between social groups, for example colliers and others. Finally, the alliance was non-sectarian and pro-lower class. However, given the dearth of emblems, banners, etc. i.e. those properties associated with spectacular events, it is legitimate to question how impressive the visual impact was. The speakers were in the best place to experience the full effect of the event. It should be pointed out, in passing, that there is no necessary correlation between status and quality of view, rather the individual's capacity, or otherwise, to receive a panoramic view results from the form of any given event. Hence the preachers' ability to describe the effect of the scene is a product of the structure of camp meetings. Bourne surveyed the arena for the first time when he rose to address the spectators from the third preaching stand shortly after noon. He was extremely surprised at the amazing sight that appeared, 'for the spectators and participants presented a scene of the most sublime and awfully pleasing grandeur my eyes ever beheld'.<sup>23</sup> The scene was impressive not simply because there was a large body of people present but owing to the variety of the activity producing different groupings whose efforts were integrated as a result of the thematic unity of the ca-

mp meeting. At the same time, the organizers carefully controlled the crowd by dint of erecting the stands at some distance from each other.<sup>24</sup> Four major points of attention were created and also raised the major activists above the heads of the crowd. And, between these points of emphasis, the praying labourers worked, either within the crowd gathered around the stands or in the 'free' areas joining them thus creating a physical link. Further, their work helped maintain the theme of the event across the gaps, in a different form. Monotony was avoided, choice was introduced and instead of aimless wandering, purposeful movement by the spectators was likelier making them probably more easily controlled. Furthermore, Mow Cop itself was a splendid site for a spectacle since it is a rough, craggy ridge standing above the surrounding plain with impressive views for those on its height. Likewise, the fir trees and stone walls helped create a natural arena. Finally, spectacle requires planning, which for this event was sparse due, in part, to shortness of time but also to a change in aim part way through the period leading up to 31 May. Nevertheless, the site was carefully chosen and 'book-ed' whilst provision was made for platforms. Advertising was distributed and an adequate supply of speakers was assured.

## II

The principle organizers were drawn from the membership of the Methodist Society's Harriseahead chapel which had been built a few years previously by the first sizeable group of converts in the village. Hugh Bourne, a relatively new member of the Methodist Society had moved the few miles from his home to Harriseahead a short time previously. He was a farmer's son and a self-employed millwright by trade.<sup>25</sup> Harriseahead, itself, was devoid of any organized

religion and it was this, as well as anxiety about settling down into 'lukewarmness' which propelled Bourne into a polemical stance amongst strangers,<sup>26</sup> even though he had some entrée into the village community through his cousin, Daniel Shubotham, a resident and one of his earliest converts.<sup>27</sup> Shubotham was a collier but also the son of a small land and coal owner. He was well educated and Bourne avers that dissipation of his inheritance had forced him to take up mining. However, he still retained a small amount of property, since it was on his back garden that the Harriseahead chapel was built.<sup>28</sup> Apart from Tom Maxfield, a blacksmith, the early converts were colliers and their wives from Harriseahead and other nearby villages, Dales Green and Kidsgrove.<sup>29</sup>

However, almost immediately, the group found itself in opposition to the local leadership. To understand why, it is necessary to consider the state of the Methodist Society at the turn of the nineteenth century. Seven years before his death in 1791, Wesley had appointed a Conference of one hundred men drawn from the ranks of the fulltime circuit preachers; the Conference was deemed his successor and had power to fill up its ranks as death diminished them. Immediately after Wesley's death, the ministers in the Conference actively sought to secure the 'interests of Methodism'. These general interests were, in some respects, already identical to their own. In order to protect their own financial and 'professional' status, it was necessary for the administration to stabilize the Society economically and socially. Notwithstanding lower-class support for Methodism, and indeed the similar class basis of the leadership itself<sup>30</sup> attempts were made to raise the Society's standing in the eyes of the ruling class and encourage bourgeois converts. This policy tended to bring the bureaucracy and existing middle class me-

mbers into alliance. Such bonding was enhanced by the upward mobility both groups had enjoyed whilst within the Society, the one as a direct result of the exercise of positively sanctioned 'religious' skill and the other outside in the commercial world. So far then, we have a description of the bases, as defined by Weber, of the routinization of charisma in the Methodist Society.<sup>31</sup> Further, as we shall go on to show, all the classic problems arose from attempts to establish norms for recruitment, create a bureaucracy and differentiate laity from clergy.

In 1796, the Kilhamite faction was expelled from the Society. Its demands, which were rejected by Conference, were largely connected with greater democratization in favour of the lay membership, as well as making an open split with the Church of England. The movement was not fundamentalist; Kilham, it was stated 'had not only unhappily imbibed the levelling doctrines which were common ... but had even strangely applied them to religion'.<sup>32</sup> The defeat of Kilham meant that, notwithstanding difficulties, the way was open for the full institutionalization of bureaucratic methods leading, eventually to the establishment of goals compatible with modern bourgeois ideology. In 1808, the campaign against the teaching of writing on Sundays was initiated, followed by a ban in 1814 and its repetition in 1823. Nevertheless, the wealthy continued to send their children to fashionable schools and Conference their sons to Kingswood. The upkeep of this school, which was set apart solely for preachers' sons, was by 1806 the largest area of expenditure of central funds.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the professionalization of the ministry proceeded apace. From 1795, the sacrament was administered in the Methodist chapels and in 1818 the title 'Reverend' was authorized; ordination by imposition of hands was gradually established by custom.

The training and preparation of Ministers was made more complex; trial sermons were introduced in 1798, women were excluded from preaching and class leadership in 1803. The need to fulfill the increasingly varied demands of the Society emerged as the basis upon which the interests of the bourgeoisie were secured. Hence District Meetings gradually appropriated the power previously administered by local Quarterly Meetings and in 1817, the custom of the superintendents of the circuits to invite circuit stewards to meetings was ratified by Conference. Thus the Leaders Meetings, dominated by the working class, had been completely stripped of any effective authority for committees to control the membership consisted of ministers and, typically, middle class, leading lay figures,<sup>34</sup> whilst financial control was given to the District Meetings. However, as we shall see below, the new emphasis on the bourgeoisie and embourgeoisement of the bureaucracy followed from factors apart from routinization of charisma. We shall find, in fact, that changes in the distribution of power in the wider social structure had implications for Methodism, for religious activity was expressive of anomie within the working class as well as status divisions between them and the rising middle class.

The struggle over what form the development of Methodism should take had already deeply divided the Burslem circuit; there had been strong support for Kilham in Burslem and Macclesfield<sup>35</sup> both of which districts were important for the early growth of the camp meeting. The membership of the circuit had sunk to sixty, as a result of the split, during which 110 members had been lost.<sup>36</sup> Communication within the circuit was very poor and the few travelling preachers concentrated on the established chapels; there was only one field preacher working between 1797 and 1800.<sup>37</sup> It was at this time that



Hugh Bourne moved to Harriseahead and was so isolated that he was 'kept from the prayer meetings and other means of grace in the circuit'.<sup>38</sup> Despite the poverty of Methodist converting work on the circuit, there was strong resistance by the local administration to many initiatives displayed by members. A Society formed to oppose Sabbath breaking was banned by the superintendent minister as a result of complaints by a wine merchant, a circuit official;<sup>39</sup> and Bourne offered to pay for a travelling preacher to visit Harriseahead without success.<sup>40</sup> The emphasis was on the membership in the towns and establishment of prestigious chapels and large, several-storied Sunday Schools; the kind of convert likely to be made in the country was unlikely to be able to provide the finances necessary to support such ambitious projects. The conditions in north Staffordshire and south Cheshire precluded mass membership on any basis other than out-door meetings under lay direction. Yet large, open-air meetings were already negatively sanctioned and the power of the laity severely restricted. The results of these kinds of struggles in the long run objectively favoured the local ruling elite whilst excluding large sections of the working class from effective membership of the organization, even when they could be persuaded to join.

However the response in the area of our study was but one outcome of the tension between different resolutions of the problem of the relationship of a salvation religion with an increasingly developed state. As Weber declares, 'the problem of tensions with the political order emerged for redemption religions out of the basic demand for brotherliness. And in politics, as in economics, the more rational the political order became the sharper the problems of these tensions became'.<sup>41</sup> In Britain, the situation was exacerbated by the revolutionary nature of industrialization and a war with a

country pursuing a political course, equally innovatory. Weber goes on to argue that the increasing dominance of the state and its concomitant decrease in accessibility to moralization, makes it imperative for religious organizations to work out a viable means of retaining their legitimacy in the area of ethical teaching. Two choices are open either to confront the state or to conform to the separation of the political and religious spheres. In practice, most solutions tend to oscillate between the two.<sup>42</sup> In the Methodist Society, we have an example of two opposing responses. Passive acceptance of secular authority regarding class relations and the accompanying hierarchy of power. On the other hand, a more radical solution was advanced based on a limited engagement with the social system in the execution of God's commandment.<sup>43</sup> Weber recognizes that these 'empirical stands which historical religions have taken in the face of political action are not solely a product of religious conflict' but 'have been determined by the entanglement of religious organizations in power interests and in struggles for power',<sup>44</sup> as well as the collapse of antagonisms into compromise and the value of religious ideology to the dominant class/group.

Whilst it is outside the scope of this chapter to treat of the opposition to this change, we should note that campaigns were waged within the Society regarding specific issues, for example, restrictions on Sunday Schools. There were also a large number of breakaways - Quaker Methodists in 1796, Methodist New Connection in 1797, Christian Revivalists in 1803, Independent Methodists in 1805. Even within the Methodist Society, there were revivals in 1797-1800, 1804-1807 and 1813-8,<sup>45</sup> marking a more emotional response to the unequal spread of restrictions. Hence, it was really the 1804 outburst in the Burslem district which indicated how far the Harriseahead and

district faction was threatening the status quo locally. The revival attracted members to the Methodist Society but also initiated the confrontation with the local (and ultimately) national leadership. From then on a number of Methodists outside the district publicly allied themselves with the faction so that it was more difficult to explain away support as the result of a geographical accident. It was at this time that James Steel., who was already a preacher and Sunday School superintendent in Tunstall, joined the faction.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, a large number of potters who joined the Methodists immediately allied themselves with the faction.<sup>47</sup>

By 1807, the faction was an influential force in the Methodist Society in north Staffordshire and south Cheshire. Furthermore, its status was high amongst independent sects as far as Warrington in Lancashire. Nevertheless, the influence it had was confined to the working class, largely uninfluential in the Society and rested less on control of aspects of the hierarchy than less easily commanded factors such as the revival. It was because of this imbalance that the diminishment in the converting effectiveness of the revival was so important. The opening of the year 1807 found many of the activists seriously concerned by the fact that no new converts had been made for a year.<sup>48</sup> Lorenzo Dow, the founder of the American camp meeting visited Britain about this time and reported some years later that they 'resolved to spend a whole Sabbath day in prayer together for an outpouring of the Spirit of God, which they had agitated, but could not bring it to bear until now'.<sup>49</sup> Support for the revival was central to the practices of the faction for several reasons. To begin with, we shall concentrate on it as a product of their ideology. Essentially, the faction was a conversionist movement, that

is, the central commitment demanded of the members was to make new members. The emphasis on conversion work comes out in Bourne's practice and statements; as soon as he arrived in the village of Harriseahead, he spoke of religion to both Shubotham and Maxfield and, in his autobiography, he wrote that his aim was 'to establish discipline, maintain order, keep up the converting work, and promote piety'.<sup>50</sup> Likewise, its primary importance is underlined by the form of justification Bourne used for both God and Wesley, he argued, placed it as the major task. To a fellow Methodist, Bourne stated 'if you suffer him [a Methodist anti-revivalist] to turn you out of the plain, straight-forward way in which the Lord hath raised you up, the converting work among you will cease'.<sup>51</sup> And 'Mr Wesley required grace, gifts, and fruit, - the fruit I took to be the conversion of sinners to God'.<sup>52</sup> Finally, the form the meeting was to take was stated. It should involve 'the union of preaching and praying services' and be 'performed or carried on by more persons than one'.<sup>53</sup> This programme was justified by pointing to Wesley's practice who, it was claimed 'made field preaching obligatory' for 'in reading preachers' experiences in the early magazines', Bourne found 'they were both field-preachers and converters'.<sup>54</sup> Similarly group or circulating leadership was legitimated on the same basis since 'Mr Wesley established variety in class leading'. However, as Bourne goes on to agree 'it did not continue very long; but as far as I have seen, it is much the best system'. Thus experience and practice was used to support the fundamentalist position, namely that Wesley's first practices were the best, and incidentally, presumably, closer to God's, since Bourne claimed that the methods used in camp meetings 'the Lord in his providence taught me'. Nevertheless, personal conviction through practice was still considered imp-

ortant because Bourne goes on to add that 'I was so satisfied in my own mind of its excellency, that I laboured with my whole strength of mind and body to establish it wherever I was called to labour'.<sup>55</sup> This outline indicates that legitimation was on the basis of a mixture of charisma and rational-legal; the whole ideology is imbued with the idea of the roots of the movement and the return to fundamental practices. But there is a strong contemporary feel to it for there is no idea of a past when the whole world was Christian, rather the emphasis is on winning people in a real situation where there has been a dearth of religious activity for sometime.

The same mixture can be identified in the second important aim, namely the commitment to revive camp meetings. These events were a product of late eighteenth-century American revivalism where people travelled enormous distances, brought their own tents and gathered for several weeks to hear and share in sermons, exhortations, public prayer, dramatic conversions and so on.<sup>56</sup> In this country, they were legitimated through evidence drawn from both testaments in the Bible and, likewise, it was suggested they had actually taken place in the distant past. In this instance, the Bible was treated as historically accurate and it therefore provided both material and spiritual proof.<sup>57</sup> Further, an individual's (probably Dow) interpretation of the Bible was considered a sufficient justification. Similarly, their effectiveness in the United States was also viewed as an adequate argument for staging them in this country. In the case of these two overt aims, to further the true work of God by making converts and reviving an ancient, just practice the arguments brought forward were a mixture of pragmatism, individualism and fundamentalism.



However, at least two other implicit factors which seem to have entered into the organizers' planning were more overtly political. There is no direct articulation of these aims but the evidence suggests very strongly that the Harriseahead faction were mindful of their status within the inter-denominational movement of which they were a part and, in particular, the question of their position in the leadership stakes. Secondly, the issue of the faction's position within the Methodist Society was rapidly becoming dominant locally and had already begun to involve the central authorities.

The first camp meeting which was proposed was set for August, 1807 to run concurrently with Norton Wake, a large and important yearly event. Clowes, along with many other Methodists, claimed to be concerned with the 'demoralizing influence' of these affairs, by which was meant the drinking, dancing and games that took place.<sup>58</sup> However, Bourne stated that he proposed the Norton camp meeting because 'we had yearly suffered loss by the wakes or parish revel', suggesting that it was the fall-off from the ranks of the faction which was his chief concern.<sup>59</sup> Norton came under the Harriseahead sphere of influence and thus the drop in membership had serious implications, particularly in a year when the revival was losing its impetus. As Bourne records, 'instead of being at the head of the mighty work of the Lord in this part of North Staffordshire these places were down in the dust'.<sup>60</sup> However, this recognition of the general implications does not explain why the first meeting was held, not in August at Norton, but in May at Mow Cop. I would, though, like to suggest that the reason lay in the question of establishing who was to 'be at the head' of the revivalist sects.

As a result of Lorenzo Dow's visit to north-west England, the vague interest in camp meetings expressed by some of the revivalists



was becoming focused. Since 1802, there had been accounts in religious magazines of the American meetings but it was not until well after a year of speaking in Lancashire, Cheshire and Staffordshire that Dow's ideas sparked a reaction. Although, he was hosted by many revivalist groups and even spoke at Harriseahead, Dow was most closely associated with the Quaker Methodists of Warrington, for it was their leader, Peter Phillips, who had helped organize the first meetings.<sup>61</sup> Further, as Dow rarely helped to establish chapels, it was noteworthy that he assisted in founding a meeting place in a barn at Stockton Heath, a district of Warrington and, thus within the Quaker Methodists' sphere of influence. Many revivalists heard him speak, for example, Clowes and Shubotham<sup>62</sup> and Bourne.<sup>63</sup> The whole district was excited by the possibility of mounting a camp meeting, so it could only a matter of time before it was actually done. The announcement of the Norton meeting was made well ahead, probably in April.<sup>64</sup> At some stage, possibly at about the same time, at least one more group published details of a camp meeting to be held at Delamere Forest, Cheshire in July.<sup>65</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that the Harriseahead group (and, in particular, Bourne) were concerned that their initiative would be pre-empted. The decision was taken to quickly mount another camp meeting, 'for themselves' suggesting the idea of combating the Wake had become secondary.<sup>66</sup> In searching for a site, the group appear to have focused on Mow Cop chiefly because some six years previously, an extremely successful outdoor meeting was mounted there in the field of a fellow Methodist, Joseph Pointon, probably a farmer.<sup>67</sup> In the next section, when the position of the Methodist Society is considered, we shall be examining the reason why the faction did not build on this 1801 meeting at the time.

In the meantime, we should note that with a site, wood for platforms, some literate members to write notices and contacts with open-air preachers in nearby Burslem, the meeting was quickly set up.<sup>68</sup> It should be remarked that although some of these preachers were not Methodists, the inter-denominational contact was not an inevitable outcome of a belief in a conversionist ethic justified by the threat of the unbounded expression of God's wrath. And, indeed, this is one of the issues to which we shall be returning later. However, evidence for the faction's commitment to the various independent sects is not hard to locate. For example, a number of the Methodist revivalists attended love feasts at Congleton at which the Stockport sect were present.<sup>69</sup> Likewise, when a second camp meeting to be held in July was proposed by the faction, although many of the other Methodist revivalists were cowed by the opposition of their Society, Bourne had no trouble in getting support from independents in Macclesfield and Knutsford.<sup>70</sup> Then the chiefly female members of the Cheshire Magic Methodists often included Bourne and Clowes in their visions depicting the spiritual status of the local leadership.<sup>71</sup>

The links between the revivalists outside the Society and those within appears to have worried the Methodist leadership less than the actual practices associated with the movement. Until 1805, the circuit leadership's opposition to the activities of the faction had been semi-formal. Preachers had complained directly to the activists<sup>72</sup> and prevaricated with respect to issuing class tickets to the converts in Harriseahead, Mow Cop and Kidsgrove.<sup>73</sup> Confrontations between ordinary members had occurred, for example, in 1801, two porters had tried to organize in support of the Methodist establishment and were apparently physically expelled from Harriseahead.<sup>74</sup> From 1805, when Conference stationed an anti-revivalist preacher at Burs-

lem, stringent efforts were made to deal with the faction. Various tactics were attempted, some of which bore fruit, notably an attempt to incorporate Shubotham by persuading him to establish himself as permanent class leader.<sup>75</sup> This Methodist rule requiring one individual to be appointed class leader had been rejected by the faction. Conversely, the Harriseahead group were quite openly breaking rules and working outside the structure of the Society. The classes intended for instruction were run as prayer meetings.<sup>76</sup> An even more blatant example arose in 1805 when Shubotham and Bourne actually formulated separate regulations for the members of the faction.<sup>77</sup>

Whilst, it is probably true that this first camp meeting was not designed as a make or break spectacle, it is hard not to believe that in mounting a completely new kind of open-air meeting, the faction knew they were offering a direct challenge to the circuit leadership. Given that camp meetings were inherently large-scale and visually dynamic, it is not easy to take Bourne seriously when he stated that 'I considered my methodist friends at Burslem and Tunstall would be against it; but I conceived the meeting would be but small, and that it would be over before they were aware of it'.<sup>78</sup> Consequently, one is driven to the conclusion that the faction leadership were already committed first and foremost to the camp meeting, the ideology surrounding it and, ultimately, the Primitive Methodist movement. The Society continued for about three years to wage battle by using bans on attendance and expulsion of activists. In return, the putative Primitive Methodists, made up of the Harriseahead faction, those who followed James Steel and the 'Clowesites' i.e. the adherents of Clowes, struggled on with their revivalist campaign, losing some members, but gaining many more. And, most importantly, not altering their position or ceasing to wholeheartedly pursue their aims.

### III

In the following section, we shall be looking at the the target groups, the principle one being the secondary target group from which the spectators were also drawn. Then, we shall examine the position of the primary target group, the Methodist Society. Alan Gilbert's exhaustive discussion of the factors underlying the rapid rise of the 'New Dissent' will serve as the basis for our account. In a later section, we shall consider the ideology and organizational practices stemming from the position held by 'New Dissent' which helped attract adherents specifically to camp meetings. As Gilbert has noted 'conversionist zeal was a hallmark of Evangelical Nonconformity';<sup>79</sup> the emphasis placed on recruitment in the practice of the sects was aided by the close relation between the doctrine of crisis and the social structural turmoils taking place during the Industrial Revolution.<sup>80</sup> During this period, opposition was expressed politically but 'rejection of the Establishment was an obvious act of defiance for the socially deviant' as well.<sup>81</sup> This 'rejection' was facilitated by the failure of the religious Establishment to adapt ideologically and organizationally to changes in the wider social structure.<sup>82</sup> In contrast, 'New Dissent' 'propagated a spiritual status system which, while not radical in any political sense, cut across the hierarchical structures of the contemporary society'.<sup>83</sup> In particular, the emancipation from the 'dependency system' of the economically most progressive forces, namely artisans, freeholders, merchants, manufacturers and so on, was enhanced by the inculcation of the emergent socio-economic values embodied in 'New Dissent'.<sup>84</sup> Gilbert sees anomie in the Mertonian sense as a crucial factor in the rise of these new religious societies.<sup>85</sup> The response, that is, 'heightened demand for new associational and communal foci to replace

those which have been lost'<sup>86</sup> was, therefore, a property of the social and cultural system.

Further we will see northern Staffordshire was a typical 'revival' area. The squatter and cottager population expanded during the war and brought more land under cultivation. At the same time, there was a large rise in money rents, tithes and tax payments for tenants.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, in the late eighteenth century, tithe disputes were not exclusively arguments between men of property<sup>88</sup> and they occurred throughout Staffordshire during this period as well as enclosures, three quarters of which were concerned solely with commons and waste.<sup>89</sup> Thus enclosure typically failed to release tenants of tithe yet reduced the land available to them. The uncertain and seasonal nature of agricultural work meant the population drew part of its income from the developing industries in the area which also helped attract people into the region. This was a district, then, of scattered hamlets occupied by freehold tenants and craft workers set in large parishes with minimal landowner control.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, the Church of England was not strong in the area and again this was typical as the land tended to yield low tithes and encourage large parishes with hamlets distant from the Church and control by the rector, if, indeed, pluralism had not already reduced his influence.<sup>91</sup> However, not only Anglicanism but Methodism had a low standing in the district so that recruitment was non-existent as were meeting places. The main explanation for the position of the Methodist Society appears to lie with the increasing emphasis placed on the type of convert and the manner of conversion, that is, the rejection of those with doubtful incomes and strong traditions of acting against normative codes of behaviour.

So far as the secondary target group is concerned, an account

necessarily focuses on the colliers since it was they who constituted the bulk of early members of the group which initiated the camp meeting faction. We shall seek for an explanation of the colliers apparent openness to conversion, in their particularly contradictory position with regard to the transition between pre-capitalist and capitalist ideology. On the one hand, they often opposed customary claims, newly initiated by their employers whilst, on the other, capitalist production relations offered an equally oppressive way of life. In addition, the position of mine workers vis à vis the rest of the working class was uncertain. Miners often lived in specially built hamlets because either the mine was situated in a district with a low population or the owner exploited this isolation by providing tied homes which held the employee and also helped keep away elements unwanted by the employer.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, in North Staffordshire, at least, specialization was not great so that men came into and left the mines as well as travelling into Shropshire and Lancashire in search of colliery work.<sup>93</sup> Any status to be accrued from high pay was countered by the colliers' contracts of employment which were not typically based on the individual wage. They worked co-operatively or were bound for a year at a time. In Staffordshire, where capital outlay was small, co-operatives were customary and workers were taken on by an overseer or formed a co-operative and themselves contracted to dig a certain quantity of coal.<sup>94</sup> The size of the mine as well as the wealth of the owner were factors in the mode of mining and consequently the rewards and status of the miner. The problem of status did not only lie in variations in the mode of production but also in the need to balance off the prestige of a dangerous job against the much less coveted labouring element.

So far as the owners were concerned, colliers were 'traditional'



workers (defined as such because either they were involved in neo-feudal contracts or they were not employed as individuals) and this ideological claim was used to legitimate their employees isolation. Primarily it sought to 'explain' and thus discredit the oppositional solidarity in the mine workers' communalism. It was claimed that miners were 'naturally, turbulent, passionate, and rude in manners and character' as well as being unreliable for 'whatever favours he [the collier] may have received, he is disposed to consider them all cancelled by the refusal of a single request'.<sup>95</sup> Colliers had the wasteful habits of a gamester and this dissoluteness had become positively criminal by 1847, according to Jelinger Symons in his Report on the State of Education in Wales.<sup>96</sup> Women, too, were subject to criticism.<sup>97</sup> Consequently this 'natural lack of qualification' for any other work favoured the permanent retention of labour by the owners on their terms and also suggested that it was wise to keep miners away from other workers. Of course, it was also necessary to prevent 'the constant emigration of colliers from one colliery to another',<sup>98</sup> because 'lawlessness' goes hand-in-hand with 'migratory habits'.<sup>99</sup> The practices legitimated on the basis of these claims included the late introduction and perpetuation beyond the usage in other trades of truck (the practice of paying workmen in goods instead of money or in money on the understanding that they will buy provisions, etc. of their employers) and yearly binding (which, with permanent debt, often meant a lifetime contract). Similarly, the ideology surrounding the community was used to justify isolation in the name of social control and prevent information on wage differentials, conditions and organization filtering through. In the village, itself, direct discipline was achieved through fines and truck.

Nevertheless, this ideology of 'differentness' was only partially

successful and also did go a little way toward accounting for some tensions between different groups within the lower class. Miners organized around demands for the free movement of labour and a money wage. But the occupation-centred communities were also united around a strongly oppositional community-based ideology whose solidarity could sometimes be turned against their fellow workers as easily as their employers. Thus the Glass-Makers Friendly Society excluded 'persons that are infamous, of ill character, quarrelsome, or disorderly', mentioning specifically that 'no Pitman, Collier, Sinker or Waterman to be admitted'.<sup>100</sup> Yet colliers were members of a political Benefit Society, the 'Institution' in 1806 and were part of the Luddite riots at Middleton in 1812.<sup>101</sup>

The other occupational group who actively supported camp meetings were the potters. This is hardly surprising since artisans were always well represented amongst Methodist societies and Mow Cop was close to the major pottery centres around Stoke-on-Trent. However, we can point to specific reasons such as the fact that because Burslem circuit covered the whole district, the circulation of news within it was likely to be encouraged. There were also economic ties for 'the coal of North Staffordshire was consumed chiefly at the pot-banks in the immediate vicinity'.<sup>102</sup> This bond had further implication since sub-contracting in the coal industry which was, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost entirely confined to Staffordshire was also common throughout the Potteries, itself largely concentrated in the one district. Hence, it is not so surprising that, during a general strike in 1825, explicit acknowledgement of the involvement should be made. 'In Staffordshire, the carpenters were the first to strike, and then every other trade turned out in rotation. The colliers knew that the potters could not go on

without them, and the moment the latter had obtained an advance, not a pick was lifted, nor a bucket let down'.<sup>103</sup>

The two groups, therefore, had much in common and, at certain times, clearly recognized it, suggesting, in turn, that conditions for creating a shared religious life were favourable. However, pot-  
tlers who had already joined the Society were also attracted to camp meetings. The problem of anomie experienced by artisan members conforms to the classic pattern exemplified by Merton, who states 'among the several elements of social and cultural structures, two are of immediate importance. These are analytically separable although they merge in concrete situations. The first consists of culturally defined goals, purposes and interests, held out as legitimate objectives for all or for diversely located members of the society'.<sup>104</sup>  
In the context of the Methodist Society, at that time, we would argue that upward mobility was established as desirable, meaning, in effect, the creation of an outward-looking stance toward the wider society based on polemical work and recruitment of converts. Merton then goes on to add, 'a second element of the cultural structure defines, regulates and controls the acceptable modes of reaching out for these goals'.<sup>105</sup> The kind of activity which was deemed legitimate was based on the application of individual initiative in public religious events, particularly preaching and class leading, directed at all sections of society. But the more prosperous members were gradually replacing the religious norms and goals for increasingly, there was unequal access to status rewards due to economic disability when number of converts was becoming less and less important as a means of upward mobility.

This form of innovation meant effectively an introduction of the individualist ethic into a collectivist organization. Hence

the mode whereby the crisis was articulated by those excluded from full engagement in the life of the Methodist Society should be seen as a specific response engendered by the challenge of individualism. As Weber observes, religions of salvation 'have watched with profound suspicion the deployment of economic forces which, in a different sense, have likewise been impersonal, and because of this they have been specifically opposed to brotherliness'.<sup>106</sup> Thus a protest at the impingement of inequality, meant also a protest against individualism, the obverse to both of which is some form of collectivity. Such a stance would have also been generated by the origins of Methodism, itself a radically conservative or organicist response to the inadequacies of the eighteenth-century established church. Finally, we come full circle back to the wider society to find collectivism deeply rooted in lower-class protest.

We shall turn now to a fuller account of the conflicting ideologies to which we referred above. The Methodist Society was in a state of crisis regarding the interests to be pursued, one of the most important aspects of which was the question of the distribution of rewards. It was largely the gradual shift from tributes given on the basis of achievement of equalitarian spiritual goals to recognition of economic success, necessarily unequally accessible that provoked confrontation with artisan Methodists within the Burslem circuit, and indeed throughout the Society. In its early growth years, a number of goals were offered to individuals in connection with the development of the Methodist 'character'. The aims were both secular and religious - the 'good' Methodist had to be loyal for 'he must love his country, and that from a steady, invariable principle'.<sup>107</sup> Likewise, politics were only to be engaged in 'when

an odium is cast on the King' or if 'men in public offices' were 'censured without any colour of reason'.<sup>108</sup> That each Methodist had a 'calling' was emphasised for the aim of work was 'unintermitted diligence' to be pursued 'with all the understanding which God has given you'. And, the same idea underlay the uses to which money was to be put as it was to be saved 'by cutting off every expense which serves only to indulge foolish desires' and not be wasted 'on sin or folly' but used for charitable purposes.<sup>109</sup> The chief duty in the moral sphere was to 'preach Jesus Christ and him crucified'.<sup>110</sup> This 'preaching' was to be carried out in a variety of ways; by example, 'to abstain from all appearance of evil' so that 'kindness', humility, 'meekness', 'long suffering', 'forbearance and forgiveness' were to be part of everyday practice.<sup>111</sup> But more than mere example was called for, 'as he has time, he "does good unto all men", ... but much more does he labour to do good to their souls'.<sup>112</sup> for which reason, they were 'never to speak against the great salvation, either in public or private; and never to discourage either by word or deed any that think they have attained it'.<sup>113</sup> This emphasis on conversion lay at the base of Wesleyan Methodism which, therefore, placed the bulk of its resources at the service of continual expansion. Members were encouraged and urged to preach through conversation, exhortation, establishment of regular prayer meetings and preaching. Grace through instant conversion by faith was possible for anyone and correspondingly any member who demonstrated a steady achievement (or merely attempt to achieve, in certain instances) of the Methodist 'character' could be appointed to a 'conversion' post in the Society. Since almost all offices were related to this work and 'character' implied making converts, many indi-

viduals who lacked other moral qualities such as humility, or even stable personalities, found themselves rewarded with a part- or full-time post because of the large numbers of converts they had made.

Decisions as to the distribution of these rewards did not lie solely with Wesley despite his power as a 'charismatic' leader for there was also a system of appointment based on some collective agreement of the individual's status. The numbers of converts made (and retained) as a Methodist or brought into the Society on membership being granted to a local leader was the basis on which status awards were given. The capacity to convert was assumed to be, in some sense, connected with good religious practice and the development of the Methodist 'character'. It is doubtful that, where converts were made and/or collective recognition of piety was granted that the leadership and/or Wesley would fail to award or authorize the award of the bureaucratic post. But such rewards could also be given for expediency's sake; where a revival threw up a group of novice converts, one would have to be appointed class leader. But the system of domination and goals of 'traditional' Methodism were subject to change as a result of developments in the wider social structure. Even before Wesley's death, the Industrial Revolution was having a profound effect on class relationships. Developments favoured growth of the bourgeoisie's power in the economic and social spheres and, in time, in the Methodist Society, too.

It was claimed that Methodist values had been applied in cases of upward mobility: 'we find also thousands of young men who, by virtue and temperance, by industry and economy, by happy connections and the blessing of God on their labours, have rose from industry to affluence, and now fill the leading situations in commercial life'.<sup>114</sup>

The argument then went on that from this, it followed these people



should also be rewarded in the Society. The administration tended to encourage these claims, searching as they were for political and economic security. Thus the Macclesfield Chapel erected in 1799 included two sections; the main body of the chapel was arranged to conceal from sight 'those who were either unable or unwilling to pay for accommodation' leaving 'aldermen and others, who could and would contribute to the expenses incurred for their benefit' on full display in the gallery.<sup>115</sup> The 'traditional' Methodist norms with regard to acknowledgement of piety and satisfaction of religious aspirations of members was threatened by middle class interests which placed an emphasis on economic means with which to gain the acknowledged goals and led to considerable instability amongst members of the Methodist Society.

As we have seen, a series of decisions were taken by the increasingly powerful central authority which effectively limited working class power in the Society. However, there was no suggestion that these new goals were in any sense inappropriate for the mass of the membership for clearly, bourgeois ideology rests on the assumption that each man (women did not count) could become wealthy solely by the exercise of his 'natural' powers. Yet the obvious inequality in the capacities of members to achieve the now, largely, economic goals was emphasized by the bias of the organization. This disjunction between equalitarian goals and the lack of equality in the means for their achievement was justified on the basis of the 'building up' ideology which, in practice, meant a restriction on approved means of conversion for most of the members. This was the case on the Burslem circuit where the travelling preachers 'set themselves forth as "Builders up"'. This was the title they assumed; yet they allowed, if conversions happened, it was well; otherwise, the conv-

ersion of sinners to God, some of them said, was no part of their charge - was not included in their undertaking'.<sup>116</sup> In particular, there was a diminishment of the notion of conversion by anyone at any time to one of conversion in 'open' meetings in places, at times and by individuals prescribed by the Society. This was achieved through Conference's elevation of the pastoral office which, once the final split between the Society and the Anglican Church had been achieved, was confirmed in its special responsibilities as well as the prerogatives typically associated with them. This professionalization helped make the mode of conversion as important as the goal so that the techniques involved in conversion were emphasized. The ideology connected to professionalization of ministerial work assisted and was part of the stabilization of those interests concerned to attract the bourgeoisie to the Society and retain a disciplined control over any elements liable to challenge the class specific goals. Professionalization meant that only officials were permitted to carry out 'conversion' work and very soon, they were the only section with the requisite specialized skills. Restriction on educational access as a result of the establishment of special courses for ministers and limitations on Sunday secular teaching was significant in this regard.

The attitude of the Methodist Society toward the camp meetings is, in many respects, a mark of the bourgeoisie's insecurity regarding their position vis à vis both upper and lower classes.

In 1807, Conference banned camp meetings but even before the ruling, which affected all members, Burslem circuit preachers had acted; leaders were forbidden to attend and they were urged to dissuade their members from going. The opposition by Conference hinged on two main points; firstly, it was considered that 'they are highly

improper in England, and likely to be productive of considerable mischief'.<sup>117</sup> This statement appears to refer to the question of mixed-sex sleeping accommodation in the tents and even more to the 'dangers' of having a large crowd of the working class together. In essence, it was another example of the upper class' claim that working class crowds were, by definition, unruly, immoral mobs. The commitment of influential sections of the leadership to the established social order was profound for they saw autonomous working-class activity as dangerous to them and, therefore, opposed behaviour which did not accord with bourgeois norms. Clowes remarks in his Journal that the travelling preacher 'rebuked' his class 'for their liveliness in worshipping and praising God, remarking that he supposed they acted as they had been taught'.<sup>118</sup> Officials were particularly opposed to non-deferential stances as Bourne pointed out to a new preacher. 'I told him the people here had been persecuted, and had stood it out against both preachers and people, a number of whom had opposed them, and prevailed so far as to bring the revival to an end'.<sup>119</sup> Hence, Conference's concern with the 'impropriety of camp meetings in England' stemmed partly from the independent stance of some of the members. Naturally, because the faction was openly contemptuous of the actions and values of the bulk of local administrators, they did not place any virtue on using official channels as such. Unsanctioned grass-roots activity, particularly when it challenged the status quo, earned a strong response, varying from rebukes, threats of expulsion, exclusion from channels of information and so on. Thus Clowes was threatened with expulsion when a circuit official who owned a brewery began to feel threatened by the activities of 'The Association for the Suppression of Sabbath Breaking'.<sup>120</sup> And three years later when he actually did lose his membership, Clowes

was told, according to George Lamb, his memorialist, that he was expelled 'for preaching the gospel in the open-air, without the sanction of the instituted authorities of the circuit'.<sup>121</sup>

Walford, Bourne's nephew, was in no doubt that opposition was due to the Society's indifference or positive antagonism to enrolling certain sections of the working class because they were poor and did not conform to the expected bourgeois standards.<sup>122</sup> But even with respect to those, who, from the Society's point of view, would be unimpeachable, unless they were prepared to disassociate themselves from camp meetings, they were not wanted. This was demonstrated most clearly with respect to Bourne who, had he directed his energies into officially sanctioned channels, would undoubtedly have been successful in the Society. Even Riles, the circuit superintendent who had confronted Bourne several times, told him that if he would stop establishing independent chapels, he would be welcome in the Society.<sup>123</sup> So adamant were the Society with regard to the potential threat to bourgeois dominance, that they even broke one of their own sexist rules for, although Conference had forbidden female preaching, the Tunstall preacher gave up his pulpit to a woman preacher intending to go to a camp meeting held at Norton. However, after she had fulfilled the engagement and stayed away from the camp meeting, it was just as quickly barred to her for the future under plea of Conference.<sup>124</sup>

#### IV

Much of what has been stated about the position and attitudes of the target groups will be relevant to the discussion of the ideology embodied in the spectacle. We shall be examining two aspects: the statements made during the event by the major activists and the

form which the spectacle took. Both are aspects of the two chief sets of beliefs underpinning the organizers' activities, namely the communalist/golden-ageist conception and the emergent liberal/entrepreneurial ideas which were expressed, typically, in religious terms.

Let us turn to the message articulated from the four platforms during the spectacle. Over and over again, the spectators were adjured to seek Christ's forgiveness for their sins so as to avoid the impending wrath of God.<sup>125</sup> So insistent were the speakers that, at one point, there were 'four preachers simultaneously crying to sinners to flee from the wrath to come'.<sup>126</sup> Essentially, the auditors were urged to avoid the coming anger/revenge of God by believing in his power to save those who accepted him.<sup>127</sup> Acquiescence to such power, it was asserted, would yield to the individual forgiveness for all past sins.<sup>128</sup> Neither of the eye-witnesses have left a clear impression of what form God's wrath would take in the event of any one person failing to take up this offer. Instead the emphasis was on horrific mass fates. In this context, both reports were heavily biased on the side of the exhortations, many of which were devoted to autobiographical accounts. In particular, both Burne and Clowes gave details of contributions from middle-class preachers. On the whole the focus was on ghastly global or at least national death rather than torture everlasting in hell for the individual sinner. Thus, there was much reliance on lurid descriptions of death on the battlefield, one speaker describing how he 'had been in the field of war, when the grandees of the earth drew the sword and bid the battle bleed. He had seen death flying in every direction, and men falling slain on every side. He had walked in blood, over fields covered with mountains of dying and dead'.<sup>129</sup> The generality of terms like 'grandeess of the earth' hints at a global con-

frontation closer to Armageddon than the existing methods of war. Another preacher suggested that rather than there being a struggle between humans on a world scale, God's anger would be directed toward the British. The end to be feared was identified in Captain Anderson's exhortation when he 'related the devotion he had beheld in many parts of the world, which we supposed to be in darkness and superstition, and exhorted us to turn to God, lest they should rise up against us'.<sup>130</sup> The references were both directly and indirectly drawn from the colonial wars of the latter half of the eighteenth century in Canada, the Caribbean and Africa as well as the American War of Independence. Thus Bourne mentioned that one speaker had been 'preferred in the army, and had left his leg in Africa',<sup>131</sup> and overt references to the Irish wars were apparently common.<sup>132</sup> Hence the religious element in the threats was submerged beneath the evidence of the very real material effect such turmoil would have on the listeners. Nevertheless, the violence was so inexplicable that all the auditors could do was to turn to righteousness because 'we were exempt from these calamities'.<sup>133</sup> Likewise, 'gratitude' was 'owed to God for being exempted from being the seat of war'.<sup>134</sup>

The benefits of living in a peaceful country were an important part of the message, which, in effect, urged the British to turn to God to defend this condition. An Irishman said 'it was necessary we should praise God for our privileges as English Christians and pray for the poor and spiritually degraded Irish'.<sup>135</sup> In the eyes of the Irishman, the advantages of being English and Protestant were so great they could only be privileges derived from God. It is evident that what was being urged were the shared interests of all 'English' people regardless of class in the face of events such as the Irish uprising. The Irish were overwhelmingly Catholic ('spir-



itually degraded') and their exploitation was chiefly at the hands of the Protestant British ruling class. But, as spiritual degradation was to be non-protestant, the superior material condition of the oppressors was not condemned. Rather what was urged was missionary work to save souls and continued enhancement of privileges for, as Clowes claimed, listeners should 'improve them to the glory of God'.<sup>136</sup> The gap between classes on the mainland was overlooked in these pronouncements. The overall stance toward colonialism was that it was legitimate to materially exploit the colonized country if protestant missionary work was carried out but that justice would be done only so long as the oppressors remained spiritually superior to their dependents. Thus the benefits as well as responsibility for British colonialism were evenly distributed across the population, omitting any recognition of differences in power and wealth.

However, whilst upward mobility in God's service was applauded, so was downward mobility.

An Irishman related the troubles he had passed through in Ireland. In the late rebellion in that unhappy land, he had been deprived of thousands; from a state of wealth and affluence, in which he had been brought up, and in which he had lived, he with his family had been reduced. But for this he thanked God, the taking away his substance had been the cause of his gaining the true riches; and he had since given up his profession of an attorney, because he found it too difficult to keep his religion in that profession.<sup>137</sup>

This man seemed to be claiming that following God did not, and possibly should not, mean the pursuit of wealth. Furthermore, he appeared to be suggesting that avoiding situations where the believer's faith was likely to be undermined was ethically correct. Thus threats were not the only source of persuasion, but example, too. But although emphasis was placed on the actions of middle-class contributors, like one man who 'was a great scholar and philosopher', this does not appear to be because such individuals were considered inna-

tely superior. Rather, it was so that their superior position could be seen to be a just return for their actions. Hence, the Irishman 'exhorted all to pray for our gracious king who was worthy, because he granted liberty of conscience'.<sup>138</sup> The spectators were, therefore, to support the king because he was a good protestant.

If we summarize, the main points made by the speakers, we find that sinners were presented as needing forgiveness from an all-powerful god, whilst the appropriate stance towards God was acquiescence since his unpredictability meant he could strike anywhere at any time. Although mention of the promise of eternal life or 'salvation' was made, greater importance by far was placed on earthly expressions of God's will in the shape of wars and rebellions, some of which were doubtless products of God's wrath. Whatever the case at present, for the future, there was no doubt that forces of God would be mobilized against evil doers. Rebelliousness against God, authority or any other external power was morally very doubtful and likewise no clear means whereby responsibility for human activity could be distributed seemed to exist. Thus the ideas were intensely voluntaristic and fatalistic at the same time. The individual, in such an outline, was faced with ethical decisions of great moment thrown up by factors beyond his control and understanding. Further being English meant being privileged per se so the best thing to do was to thank God, improve oneself spiritually and materially, never be too proud to learn from the humble or the great and, most importantly, to judge people on their individual religious merit.

These ideas should be placed within a context of approval of extremely emotional expressions of the power of God in both speakers and participants/spectators. Loud praise and rejoicing in the forgiveness of sins was greeted with great applause.<sup>139</sup> Bourne repor-

ted that one exhorter, a one-legged scholar and philosopher 'was so overpowered by the love of God, that he was obliged to be supported while he spoke'.<sup>140</sup> 'Tears' and 'trembling' were approved yet Bourne seemed convinced that 'the extraordinary steadiness and decorum that were maintained during the whole day, (notwithstanding the vast concourse of people who attended,) seemed to make a great impression upon every mind!'.<sup>141</sup> It would seem then that the organizers sought (and achieved) heightened individual responses in conjunction with highly controlled group behaviour involving a considerable degree of respect for the autonomy of other spectators.

Much of the felicity of the event resulted from the work of the praying labourers, the content of whose speech we unfortunately know very little. They prayed with the mourners<sup>142</sup> and prayed for individuals,<sup>143</sup> thus the degree to which they controlled the situation or exercised specific skills could vary quite a lot. Yet all we know directly of their stance is Bourne's report that at one company, he 'found such a measure of the power of God, such a weighty burning of joy and love, that it was beyond description' as they worked with one particular sufferer.<sup>144</sup> It is difficult to reconstruct the prayer of the praying labourers for several reasons. The companies were drawn from a diversity of different sects, both Methodist and Independent, although given the common experiences of many of these groups, similarity in class of personnel, parochial base and shared commitment to the Dowite mode of camp meetings, this factor is perhaps less important. Likewise, as we shall see below, it was the presence of autonomous groups committed to conversion which was inherent to camp meetings and thus ultimately the form took precedence over content.

It is necessary to decide on the ideas articulated by the praying labourers via a process of elimination and contrast. The prayers did not involve the expression of a consistent theology or body of thought since, typically, many of the classes originally intended by the Methodist Society for instruction and self-examination were given over to prayer meetings. Thus, at Harriseahead, the leader usually opened with a prayer and hymn then 'another commenced praying and in less than a quarter of a minute another would dash off, and so on, till the whole were exercising with all their faith, hearts, minds and with all their voices'.<sup>145</sup> Another group which certainly attended the July camp meeting and may also have been at the May spectacle were the Quaker Methodists from Stockport who had developed a form of prayer meeting which was more emotional than that at Harriseahead for 'they were readier in the exercise of faith'. Likewise, the group was even less concerned with the tenets of belief and 'they neither laid open doctrines nor explained the mystery of faith'.<sup>146</sup> The prayer seems to have been devoted to generalities of praise and thanks.

We can learn something, too, by examining the debate about the relative values of preaching and prayer which was current in the Methodist Society. Thus emotional prayer was claimed to be superior to the 'ordered' sermon for several reasons. It was called 'primitive' and 'Israelitish' suggesting that the emphasis was derived from early Methodist or Wesleyan practice itself derived from the Bible. According to Bourne, Samuel Bradburn, a Methodist preacher sympathetic to revivalism argued that 'preaching ... was merely talking to our fellow creatures ... but praying ... was ... talking to Almighty God'.<sup>147</sup> But the real crux lay in the statement made by Bourne that 'I grew most in grace at preachings; and yet it was almost

without the aid of memory, as at the conclusion I seldom could remember a single sentence' thus he was 'edified without being able to tell what the preacher has said'.<sup>148</sup> Thus for Bourne, (and other camp meeting leaders), the message was best received by some mystical ingathering of good which was not facilitated by an ordered argument. (Ordered is used here to suggest a coherent analysis based on theological terms and is not meant to suggest that religion, in itself, is rational.) The mystical account not only fits 'obvious' conditions but is the most accessible because talking to God through prayer 'is free to all even to little children'.<sup>149</sup> This debate was largely a product of the professionalization of the clergy to which we have already referred for, in contrast to Wesley's advocacy of the short sermon and simple direct language, increasing favour was given to length and erudition.

Another area from which we may gain some clues is in that of language. The expression and imagery of the praying labourers was not likely to be in direct contrast to those of the main speakers, although those from Ireland or having a classical education must have struck the hearers as sounding unfamiliar. Bourne certainly used the vernacular, although he was an auto-didact.<sup>150</sup> Both protagonists and participants used the phraseology of sectarian religion and, at least one phrase in Bourne's account suggests that of the popular theatre, for he refers to 'the grandees of the earth' who 'drew the sword and bid the battle bleed' (my emphasis).<sup>151</sup> Yet the tone of the companies was quite different for they seem to have been supportive, optimistic, probably urging the power of God's love to save. Further, they were not primarily concerned with performance and narrative played little part in their techniques. Rather they concentrated on small numbers, often particular individuals

who may have been known to them. Even when begging and pleading for a sinner, it was on the assumption that they were appealing to a kindly figure, for the God of Wrath appears to be appropriate for collective guilt-stirring only. Finger-wagging seems to have been the preserve of the major activists.

The structure of the camp meeting was the upshot of several assumptions, prominent among which were the predominance accorded conversion activity amongst the working class. The origins of the format of the spectacle were deeply embedded in the rise of the Harsehead faction, itself a product of clashes between collectivist and individualist beliefs in the secular and spiritual spheres. The immediate source of the new forms was the adoption of personal sermonizing as the basis for the rhetoric of large meetings rather than the reverse, namely the utilization of phrases drawn from speech appropriate to addressing crowds in interactions. In the case of Daniel Shubotham, Bourne's first convert, because he was an educated man, personalization involved taking a text from a philosopher.

I read him a piece out of Barclay, with which he declared himself satisfied. So the way was open. Next followed a little general conversation. I then rose up to go, requesting him to accompany me a little way. I was full of sorrow, but as soon as we were in a suitable place, I set to preaching the Gospel to him with all my might; ... At parting I put into his hands the full and large account of my own conversion and experience ... written with the zeal and fire of a new convert.<sup>152</sup>

The method spread and was developed; Shubotham 'took the same course with others as the Lord directed me to take with him' and Bourne used it when he delivered the sermon at the July 1801 meeting as 'it came to my mind to speak as if addressing a single person'.<sup>153</sup> The technique involved a direct, earnest and conversionist message but presented in a relaxed and intimate manner. Use was made of dialect and colloquialisms rather than literary language, inappropriate for



for a largely illiterate audience. It is necessary to point out that probably most revivalists used a similar kind of system but nevertheless, Bourne's understanding of its implications, even though only noted late in life (most of the MSS were products of his old age) was significant for the development of the camp meeting.

Whilst Bourne and Shubotham were educated, suggesting a degree of rational organization for conversion purposes, erudite workers were few and far between and it is here that the system reveals its advantages. It was easily learnt, because the form was simple, and moreover, it was constantly being demonstrated in practice both in meetings and conversations. It was flexible, as it was suitable for both individual face-to-face conversion and mass meetings and the emphasis on colloquial language, at all times, made 'conversationist' preaching accessible to the listener. The message was understandable as familiar language made the message seem 'appropriate' to the listener.

However not only was a new approach to religious rhetoric adopted but some organizational innovations were made as well. Both were responses to the peculiar demands of a colliers' village, many of whose inhabitants were suspicious of outsiders and saw themselves as 'different'. In the Methodist Society, the new converts joined a class under a class leader who taught the simple Methodist creed easily learnt without recourse to written material. Under Bourne and the first converts, regular leadership was given up in favour of alternating leaders because the colliers preferred the more egalitarian mode.<sup>154</sup> Free alternation of class leadership became the rule and the later insistence of the Methodist Society that a single leader should be appointed held back many of the converts from taking up a class ticket for membership.<sup>155</sup> Not only was the style of

leadership different, but so was the membership in the body of the class. Rather than withhold class membership from those who had yet to join the Methodist Society, all converts, both members and unaligned Christians were brought together contrary to Methodist rules.<sup>156</sup> The move toward communalism assisted in the change of content in the class from instruction to expressive worship which we noted above.

In 1801, a prayer meeting was convened by a group of the Methodists living in the Mow Cop area. It was intended for members only and was to be held at a house on Mow where they typically met for such events. The only atypical element was that it was the first sermon to be preached by the local religious leader, Hugh Bourne. In the event, the size of the crowd forced the meeting outside which, because it was contrary to existing Methodist Society practice, met with some resistance from some of the members present. However, the meeting went ahead and followed the usual order which meant an opening prayer was given and the sermon preached around a Biblical text. But, instead of then concluding with a hymn, 'the brethren and sisters present opened out a course of mighty prayer and labour with occasional exhortations'.<sup>157</sup> This element of the meeting, i.e. mass spontaneous prayer broken up by individual testimonies of faith and appeal to repent was deemed quite original. Eventually this combination of prayer, sermon and prayer plus exhortation was designated a camp meeting, although the term 'camp meeting course/movement' actually referred to the final section when the crowd 'opened out' into prayer and exhortation. Those who specialized in this kind of work developed into the praying labourers.

Building on this, the more efficient blending of prayer meetings with conversationist preaching proceeded apace. The faction miss-

ionaries concentrated now on developing their converts into 'praying labourers and conversation preachers'.<sup>158</sup> Yet nothing was done to build on the successful meeting. There are probably a number of explanations; the balance of forces in the district meant that a significant group were very much attached to the ways of the Society and would not have given their support to such events. In fact, these individuals may well have fought strongly against any move to initiate large outdoor-meetings of a revivalist nature. Then generally, there does not seem to have been a demand for them amongst the members partly because they were still a comparatively small group and not well-established in the Mow district. Nevertheless, as we have seen, changes did continue to take place, for the division of labour familiar to Methodists was increasingly substituted by collectivist practice. The praying labourer supplanted the class leader, a post made entirely redundant by the rejection of any need to provide instruction or guidance. The convert was inducted into the work 'automatically' by the act of public prayer at meetings. A result of the decision to abandon formal leadership in the meetings as well as its continuing isolation from the rest of the circuit meant that the faction was open to the decisive organizational influences of groups of revivalists such as those at Stockport. They had apparently eliminated all silent, individual prayer and any remnants of a structured service to which the faction adhered, for example set times for hymn singing. The Stockport and Harriseahead groups came into contact several times during 1804 and, according to Bourne, this contact 'quite altered the society at Harriseahead'.<sup>159</sup> The acquisition of more members convinced the faction of the correctness of the other group's approach. This 'freedom' of prayer meant

that 'a person praying for liberty' at a meeting 'was supported by the whole meeting'.<sup>160</sup> But individuals could not keep up the new level of prayer alone, so the problem of physical exhaustion encouraged the formation of praying companies. The more constant level of mass activity, which the faction, as a result of the Stockport influence, now considered to be the norm could only be maintained by individuals forming themselves into companies which then 'prayed and rested by turns'.<sup>161</sup>

The result of this system was that there was a vital and lively communalistic practice with the potential for teams to develop their own style within an integrated 'counterpoint' structure. The development of praying labourers corresponded with a lack of preachers and was, in part, the result of the degeneracy of the Methodist class meeting system. Apparently, the problem of developing cadres did not become obvious until the Norton meeting. Even Bourne was prepared to admit that its success largely depended on a Dr Johnson, an Irish Quaker medical practitioner, who, having come over especially for the event, managed to rally the other speakers behind him.<sup>162</sup> So far as development of preachers was concerned, the problem was apparently the difficulty in developing 'conversation preaching' given that there was no structural way to acquire practice in classes and meetings not calling for instruction or individual prayer. Consequently a hierarchy and division of labour created through informal channels formed. Personal interaction could develop converts into praying labourers but after that, there was a gap which was not bridged organizationally between the mass of the membership and the leaders. Thus, a charismatic leadership was blended with the authority of the charismatic group. We have then a system which had great democratic potential although it was by no means fully articu-

lated. But alongside this must be balanced the intensely fatalistic responses, albeit communally supported, to structural problems. Nevertheless, the attachment to autonomous lower class activity, decision-making and assessments of what were just underpinned the ideology embodied in the spectacle. To some degree the emphasis placed on the middle-class speakers demonstrates a desire to gain supporters of the event from that quarter. Yet there was no suggestion in the reports that their superiority was considered inherent nor were any privileges accorded them. Thus, the interest in their presence was more likely to be an aspect of the importance placed by many of the leaders on education. Bourne himself was an auto-didact and the establishment of not only a Sunday School but a week day school for secular study only indicated how high was the priority within the faction.<sup>163</sup> And indeed, many revivalist sects involved in the meeting had similar policies, for example the Quaker Methodists founded their chapel in a barn where reading, writing and music were also taught.<sup>164</sup> Even so, self-knowledge through faith was central to the ideology, hence the equation, noted above, of the camp meeting movement with the praying labourers. Ultimately, the faction was anti-intellectual and mystical in orientation.

As we have sought to demonstrate, the faction's ideology was a product of two opposing ideological stances - the golden-ageist and entrepreneurial, both of which were outlined in the previous chapter. Golden-ageism was community oriented, oppositional but also adaptive. Positive and negative sanctioning was provided by the community or trade and its organizations. Resistance to change was typically in the form of demands for the restoration of traditional benefits, although, where employers themselves used that argument to impose paternalist systems, opposition could be articulated in the terms of

the free-market economy. Supporters were often free from immediate supervision of their labour either because they were self-employed or in some kind of co-operative. However, sub-contracting was important too, and here the fact that mechanization had not yet seriously impinged on industries such as mining meant there was still some flexibility. Parochialism and immediate subsistence were highly valued, egalitarianism between social equals was approved as was support for custom by superiors.

The entrepreneurial ideal with its emphasis on self-support, upward mobility, respectability and sanctioning via authorities such as religious societies or the government was a radically different concept. The rights of the employing class were deemed superior to any other, as were their 'natural' capabilities. There was little resistance to change except where new controls on trade or industry were likely. Thus restraint was only urged on the personal level and responsibility a difficult matter to settle once away from individual empirical acts. Legitimation was on the basis of the benefits of free-economic activity and impersonal, centralized bureaucracy. Proof being increase in the nation's productivity and the promised reduction in expenses should a bourgeois bureaucracy be established.

The faction's ideology was a blend of these two positions. On the one hand, it was not at all deferential and was aggressively communalistic. Yet centralization and bureaucracy were not, apparently considered evil in themselves, rather the concern was with the best means of perpetuating certain values associated with the oppositional community. Demands were 'traditional' insofar as restoration of early Methodist norms and values were central, although this fundamentalism was almost entirely religious. For, in the case



of the membership, considerable emphasis was placed on some of the values of the entrepreneurial ideal, namely respectability in the eyes of authorities other than the community, and self-support. But more than outward respect for established institutions was called for as any person in authority was required to be worthy of esteem. Likewise, social mobility was much more integrated for upward and downward movement could be positively or negatively sanctioned depending upon the particular spiritual circumstances. Thus moral constraints on economic activity were considered important. Nevertheless, where mobility was the product of undisciplined, careless behaviour, it was condemned. Although education for the lower class was highly valued making the faction very progressive by the standards of either ideology, its purpose was not to provide any kind of theological account. Likewise, there was no interest in or knowledge of politics rather issues like wars which, theoretically, at least, involved the whole nation remained a complete mystery.<sup>165</sup>

No support for rebellion or anything that would provoke violence or social disorder was condoned. Spiritual oppression even in the form of the dominance of a much feared institution like the Catholic Church was to be resisted by prayers only. Material inequality and want were considered insignificant. Yet a similar fatalistic stance was not taken toward the Methodist Society whose powers were not deemed legitimate where they were opposed to the more over-arching neo-fundamentalist beliefs. They were challenged by default at the camp meeting. The appeals to the secondary target group were of greater importance and here, the group's emphasis on problems arising from anomie and similar 'promises' to be able to satisfy them psychically and culturally were not only voiced but demonstrated. Empi-

rical proof was provided.

V

As we have already noted, the organizers sought to appeal both to local people, unaligned to any religious group, the officials of the Methodist Society, and a third group lying on the borderline between the primary and secondary target groups, namely lay members of the Society. It was this diversity in the target groups which helped create differences in the kind of authority claimed for the event. Whilst, it is true that there was a charismatic element in the stance of the faction leadership, public statements directed toward the Methodist Society emphasised the traditional authority for camp meetings. Thus the Covenanters, Quakers, Wesley and Whitefield, it was claimed, had solemnly commanded continuous outdoor preaching. The penalty for failure to do so would be the downfall of the Society.<sup>166</sup> Another important argument was that these events were 'respectable', by which was meant the people behaved in accordance with emergent modern bourgeois forms of personal behaviour. This was almost certainly a tendentious exaggeration, nevertheless, it does indicate that the faction was making a definite bid for domination in an organization where embourgeoisement was becoming yearly more obvious. There is so much evidence to indicate that, after 1805, Bourne, the leader (not always undisputed) was committed to making a bid for domination in the Cheshire/Staffordshire district that disclaimers by him should be dismissed as purely strategic. From 1805 onwards, Bourne and Shubotham spoke of themselves as being responsible for the 'society'; it is, therefore, likely that they regarded the faction as an autonomous organization for they definitely behaved in that manner.<sup>167</sup> At about the same time, they talked of making regulations for 'the

people'.<sup>168</sup> The faction certainly saw itself, rather than the officials of the circuit, making the running in the district.<sup>169</sup> In 1807, Bourne had published at least two provocative pamphlets, one an account of the camp meeting and the other a catechism for Sunday Schools, although publication without permission was forbidden.<sup>170</sup> Lastly, there were several suggestions made that the faction should become independent; in 1801, Shubotham suggested they break away<sup>171</sup> and, at the end of 1807, Steele and another prominent supporter urged a break because of manoeuvrings by the Society around the female preacher, Mrs Dannel, who wished to attend a camp meeting.<sup>172</sup> Always Bourne held steadily to staying in the Society unless or until they were thrown out. Even when he was excluded the following year, no principled stand by the other major supporters of camp meetings seems to have been contemplated.

However, when we turn to the stance adopted at the camp meeting, it is clear that no challenge was being offered to the secular status quo. It was accepted that being British, regardless of your economic or social standing meant you were privileged. The whole country, it was claimed, was happy - riots over food prices and some active objection to enclosure recorded in the district were overlooked. The governing class were thanked for keeping the French off the mainland. The king, whose power was defined by the 1688 settlement, a compromise worked out after the Civil War, was praised for granting liberty of conscience. The Irish, a subject race of the British, were seen solely as objects of pity and prayer. No political solutions for those problems which were recognized was advanced and most significantly, implicitly, none was deemed appropriate since it was the will of the Lord which originated change. In fact, the more structurally significant the event, the greater the likelihood that

God's arbitrary will would be put forward as the cause. The parallels with the dominant ideology are quite apparent for the ruling class made strenuous efforts, using force and ideology, to exclude the lower class from political life. The speakers also used threats of force, as well as persuasion, to influence their listeners.

There is no direct record of the speakers presenting a specific model for good conduct but the pamphlet on the camp meeting stated that the success of the spectacle demonstrated its propriety and utility and these were, indeed, the underlying themes of the faction's activities. In the area of individual responsibility, the faction felt most secure and implicitly considered it an appropriate sphere for their authoritative action. Bourne was concerned with creating 'discipline' and 'order' amongst his followers; great emphasis was placed on being 'diligent in business'<sup>173</sup> and, doubtless, it is to this aim that Clowes referred in urging his listeners to improve the privileges God had granted them. In the prayer meetings, Bourne was concerned with 'strict decorum' and 'strictness of conduct'.<sup>174</sup>

These positions were common-place demands of bourgeois ideologists and the need to create a workforce which was self-disciplined and committed to the work ethic has been widely recognized by historians as a central concern of industrial employers.<sup>175</sup> In many respects, there was no contradiction between this outline of personal conduct and positively sanctioned goals and the stance to be adopted toward political matters. For, although the deference associated with rural life was rejected in favour of social mobility, the only specific attack on tradition was on Wakes which, whilst useful to the clergy in maintaining the legitimacy of the established Church, were not essential. Even without the attacks from non-conformists, these events would have disappeared for, eventually, influential groups

within the Anglican Church itself opposed them. Even if, given the relatively small amount of influence the Church had in Staffordshire, Wakes were essential, there is no evidence to suggest that strong attempts were made to retain them once the nature of rural life had altered.

Although the organizers and other groups involved in the spectacle were undoubtedly principally concerned with proselytizing, they were not a charismatic movement. God was the source of authority but no individual or group set themselves up as bearers of a new message and great importance was placed on the inter-denominational nature of the meetings. Whilst the ideological position taken was largely drawn from Methodism, this was chiefly an expression of the influence the Society had in revivalist movements rather than of the power of one particular interest, although the faction was and remained organizationally dominant. It might be objected that the concentration on the lower class was peculiarly significant and, certainly, the revivalist groups' appeal to them was a consequence of that classes exclusion from religious life. But it was the extension of an established message to a group which was previously excluded and also largely uninterested in religion which appears to have been the chief aim. Bearing this stance in mind, it is useful to consider<sup>176</sup> Merton's types of adaptation to anomie and, in this context, the response of the camp meeting group, may be categorized as 'innovatory'. The leaders, and in particular Bourne, accepted the goals but rejected the means of Methodism. It is largely for this reason that no challenge to the status quo was offered. Nevertheless, radicalism was implicit in the structure of the event, as we shall see below.

The religious basis of the argument does not, therefore, exclude pleas for a specific authority. Of course, most of the statements

referred back to God (we have only one recorded remark where the king's authority is emphasized) but, nevertheless, an authoritative position can be outlined. Thompson includes a useful discussion of popular notions of what English privileges involved. As he points out, both conservatives and liberals rested their cases on the absolute authority of the 1688 settlement.<sup>177</sup> It was for this reason that an ideology, like that of the faction, which was a confusion of radical conservatism and liberalism could accept that British independence and liberties were guaranteed. As a result of this consensus among the ruling class, it is no wonder that self-congratulatory popular notions prevailed as to the advantages of being British. Clowes' mention of the privileges of English Christians almost certainly refers directly to

freedom from absolutism (the constitutional monarchy), freedom from arbitrary arrest, trial by jury, equality before the law, the freedom of the home from arbitrary entrance and search, some limited liberty of thought, of speech, and of conscience, the vicarious participation in liberty (or in its semblance) afforded by the right of parliamentary opposition and by elections and election tumults (...), as well as freedom to travel, trade, and sell one's own labour.<sup>178</sup>

As religious ideologists, the speakers were bound to place greatest emphasis on liberty of conscience, so it is noteworthy that the king was specifically mentioned in his role as guarantor of religious freedom. Changes in recognition of religious pluralism were taking place, but in 1807, these freedoms were so limited that in order to preserve and develop the camp meeting, it was necessary for a number of time-consuming and expensive steps to be taken only a couple of months later. To preempt a threatened indictment under the Conventicle Act by a local manufacturer, Bourne obtained a grant of occupation from a freeholder (Pointon?) for a piece of common land and then erected the statutory building. In addition, he obt-



ained a license for dissenting ministers to preach which protected him from prosecution, the usual step taken at this time. Apart from the time taken up in preparing the site, Bourne had to make two long tramps - one to Stafford and the other to Lichfield. And it was only a few years later, in 1809 that Lord Sidmouth proposed a bill designed to restrict licensing of field preachers.

There is no need to recite all the facts to illuminate the ideological nature of the beliefs outlined by Thompson, partly because the inequality of economic and political conditions of the time is too well-known. However, many of these freedoms were significant and were the products of long, bitter struggle, most of which were achieved in the earlier Civil War. It is the contrast of the privileges, albeit limited, of British life with the turmoil which the rest of the world appeared to be in which underpinned many of the arguments put forward that Sunday in 1807. The notion of an embattled island was very potent. Lack of direct references to the prevailing continental war confirm how little the struggle impinged directly on those at home. Yet, clearly, the long series of colonial wars left the inhabitants touched with a sense of being surrounded by dreadful struggles and calamitous confrontations with semi-diabolic creatures in unearthly countries. This same sense of powerlessness prevailed as regards the events in Ireland yet British government ministers knew that their anti-Catholic colonial policy was a major source of the problems. 'The forfeitures in this country', Lord Redesdale wrote to Lord Eldon, 'are the true source of all its misery. They have produced that uncertainty of title, and still more of possession, which has rendered the people so savage'.<sup>179</sup>

The strength of this image of world-wide turmoil helped to give authority to an alternative picture of a country at peace.

This was a highly simplified, not to mention inaccurate vision for, in the immediate area only, there had been riots a few years previously over attempts to introduce colliers from the Tyne<sup>180</sup> and food riots were common in Macclesfield.<sup>181</sup> Yet, on the whole, Britain must have seemed a veritable haven and the uniqueness merely served to legitimate the claim that the peace was a blessing from God, inexplicably given. Yet the strategy made by the government for war included quite specific plans to maintain peace at home which, it was felt, could not be taken for granted. Thus Eldon reported in 1804 that

we had a meeting of the Ministers, at the time of the French threat of invasion, to consider the propriety of allowing of volunteer regiments: and the Ministers avowed that they were afraid of incurring such an expense. When I had to give my opinion, I said, 'Do as you please, but if these men do not volunteer for you, they will against you'. The volunteers saved the country: Buonaparte acknowledged it.<sup>182</sup>

Other structurally significant changes took place, unbeknown to the camp meeting activists for the cost of defending economic interests overseas was actually colossal so that it was under the pressure of war that attempts were made to rationalize taxation and assess the national income.<sup>183</sup> Yet locally the war effort was not too visible since a comparatively small number of men were mobilized and press gangs probably did not venture that far inland. Likewise, the low presence of the ruling class meant display in connection with the war was less likely to occur.

It was partly because structural events were a complete mystery that God's power was perceived as exercised on the bases of rules inexplicable to mortals. This kind of fatalism is common to religious belief but it was enhanced by the centrality placed by Methodists upon salvation by faith, itself partly a response to the ethical

autonomy of the secular authorities. The power of 'God' was strengthened, as the governing class realized, when people accepted that all they could do was believe. Lord Erskine, speaking in 1813 to the proposal on extension of religious activity in India, reminded his fellow peers 'that this country holds her Indian provinces by the sole tenure of Christianity; and if she neglect to impart its blessings, which we enjoy in a superior degree, she may lose them; and that tremendous storm which has burst upon Europe, from which we have mercifully escaped that we might propagate the Christian faith, may cross the Channel, and fall on our own guilty heads'.<sup>184</sup> And that principled Christian, Wilberforce had this to say in 1805, 'in truth it is not religion, but popular opinion, which among us at this day is the general standard of practice. This consideration, though I kept it back, had great weight with me'.<sup>185</sup> Blind acceptance also dealt with any theological difficulties and, indeed, served to legitimate the anti-intellectual stance of Methodism. It helped to free people from dogma and, therefore, provided the potential for a critical stance but it also confirmed that, within the terms of the protestant consensus, each person's view of God (and implicitly, of everything else) was as good as the next. Individuals, it was concluded, were right to assess conditions and act as they thought fit in their own self-interest. The speakers at the camp meeting confirmed that God authorized such action. This position could only serve to legitimate the rapid social changes which we have noted were taking place in the area. Moreover, social mobility, downwards or upwards was legitimated. This was significant since it moderated the Puritan concept of the 'calling' which had enjoyed some prestige in the Methodist Society. For, under conditions of capitalist industrialization, steady growth over the whole nation does not take

place. Rather uneven development as between district and district as well as between industries is the rule. Furthermore, particularly where there is a large number of small enterprises i.e. before mechanization is really established, competition is especially fierce. The social problems associated with this kind of 'pioneering' district were acute in the Potteries, as Taylor has noted, 'the presence of a multitude of small enterprises on the Staffordshire coalfield brought with it fierce and unremitting competition'.<sup>186</sup>

It was largely because the camp meeting ideology served to justify existing domination that preachers and non-conformists, in general, survived Parliamentary attack. The strong support given by no less a figure than the Archbishop of Canterbury for the continuation of licensed preaching gives some indication of how seriously normlessness was taken by those institutions which, because ideological work was their specialization, were in the best position to understand its importance. That is not to suggest the work of non-conformists was favoured but their functional role during this transition period was recognized.

As we saw, both the social group whose interest were articulated in the camp-meeting ideology and the authority which was claimed were transitional. In essence, it was an uneasy mixture of defence of the nobility's political dominance in conjunction with the recognition of the bourgeoisie's economic interests. Nevertheless, the authority was largely based on legal considerations, in particular, the 1688 settlement. Likewise, the justice of the British presence overseas was accepted on normative grounds. The implications of an increasingly bureaucratic state may be seen by the strong tendency to depersonalize ethics and legitimate their exclusion from political reasoning.<sup>187</sup> A more radical element persisted in the refusal

to entirely eliminate ethics from political activity. Likewise, the persistence of a commitment to the universalism of love, helped to balance the emphasis on economic activity as a religious task. It also strengthened the position of the egalitarian trend in the oppositional and 'different' ideology of the colliers. Finally, we should note the egalitarian position which was urged regarding economic activity. The particularity of the articulation of equality was one factor which enabled significant sections of the dominant class to maintain their support. On the one hand, there was apparently no risk to the continued political dominance of the peerage and, on the other, the free-market economy demanded workers who were committed to disciplined labour and continual expansion of wants.

Before leaving the question of the spectacle's ideological content, we need to give consideration to our fundamental division of these events. The degree to which the camp meeting was progressive is not easy to decide but, in the following discussion, we shall consider the implications of anti-intellectualism, including the status of critical accounts, democratizing potential and inherent blocks to the full involvement of members of the sect. Notwithstanding the progressive possibilities in the egalitarian organization of the camp meeting, the religious goals of the organizers, as articulated in the speakers' addresses, were inimical to the full expression of human potential. We may detect several trends of which anti-intellectualism is particularly important. On the one hand, this stance may be seen as general opposition to the increasingly bourgeois form of preaching in the Methodist Society. Previously, the Church of England's use of exclusive rhetoric was one cause of Wesley and Whitefield's move into field preaching where they could reach the excluded lower class. Bourne was apparently opposed to preaching that

utilized 'wisdom of words' which suggests the more educated style and content.<sup>188</sup> However, despite inequality in material conditions being presented as justification for a more accessible form of rhetoric, the result was not clarification but a fetishization of irrationality. In effect, total weight was placed on the knowledge of God/holiness through 'free', personal experience. The Methodist Society and Anglican Church also attached importance to the religious experience but had subjected it to greater rationalization within the norms of the service, in particular, the sacrament.<sup>189</sup> The faction justified the emphasis on emotional prayer and unstructured religious experience by pointing to numbers of converts and the efficacy of the praying labourers. Thus preaching was considered inferior because 'it was merely talking to our fellow creatures' but exhortation, meaning the delivery of the revivalist message of hellfire and forgiveness, continued to be legitimized by the religious frenzy resulting from it. In contrast, preaching, Bourne claimed, 'operated injuriously, preventing the people's gifts from being sufficiently exercised in prayer meetings'.<sup>190</sup> These 'gifts' were self-directed prayer uninformed by anything save the rhetoric absorbed through others' chants, shouts and words and/or conversation preaching.

The development of such skills could not assist people in the long term, although like other elements of the equalitarian claims, they could provide some immediate benefits. For, despite philanthropic claims, these faculties were developed as a result of the structural and ideological emphasis on the incapacity of the majority of the population. Various justifications for this position were advanced. We have already noted the emphasis placed on the immorality of the colliers and when enclosures were on the agenda, the wildness and laziness of the smallholder was often presented as a



way of explaining how beneficial the appropriation of their small property would be to the improvement of social control.<sup>191</sup> Without education and with an ideology which justified this lack on the basis of inherent differences between strata as well as the benefits to the worker of mindless wage-labour, it was difficult for most of the converts to challenge the claim that wild emotionalism was a 'gift'.

Furthermore, the camp meeting ideology also made critical accounts illegitimate because the preachers' answers to any question lay in turning to God in personal prayer and not in any discussed and agreed creed. However, certain claims in the converting message were 'proved', but, rather than offering defenses in theological terms, reference was made to current events. The fact that the country was at peace, whilst the rest of the world was in turmoil was given as a demonstration of God's concern for the British. Likewise, that the people were not actually enslaved, as they were in Africa, also indicated what the British owed God. But, in each instance, the current events were used to illustrate; a metaphor was presented as a conclusive argument and there was no attempt to convince through sound reasoning. Presented in this way, all events were quite outside the control of the individuals or even nations concerned and thus, according to the exhorters, it was demonstrably necessary for individuals to endeavour to satisfy God's will. Only harm could come through intellectual rebellion.

So far as spiritual matters were concerned, it was essential for the individual to be active. This was important because it legitimated active prayer, rejection of authority and exercise of initiative. There was no contradiction, it was claimed, between temporal conservatism and spiritual radicalism because the Bible and Wesley called for this stance. The contradictions in advocating practical

activity whilst denying a theoretical base and posing spiritual activism and temporal passivity regarding structural matters enabled the camp meeting to bear progressive potential. In the short-term, the camp meeting was adaptive, since it permitted adjustment to the demands of developing capitalism, not without conflict, at times.<sup>192</sup>

However, as regards long-term benefits, this really lay in the formulation of a spectacular, organized, collectively-focused mass gathering. The power of the event lay not so much in the mass attendance, since novelty will often attract large numbers, but the role of the organizing and organized sections of local labourers, colliers and artisans. Spontaneous self-organization can occur at large events, but the core of the camp meeting, as the activists implicitly recognized, were the lay workers. By equating the praying labourers with the 'camp meeting movement' their work was put at the centre of the endeavour. In fact, the structure of the meeting was the result of several years work and struggle over whether and, if so, how the lay members should have a determining voice. The triumph of the notion of the right of the grass roots to take decisions and act authoritatively was concretized in the camp meeting. The power lay in the body of the meeting but it was also diversified; groups worked independently yet followed a coherent pattern. By both working with and for spectators they could lead and yet respond to initiatives from the platforms as well as from the onlookers. The centrality of the praying labourers and what they represented undercut the articulation of the dominant ideology from the platforms. The mode of organization and style of work demonstrated the power of the collective and the opposition to dominant interests which this implied was one of the chief reasons why it was the fact of large meetings rather than the content of the events which the

ruling class often resisted and in the case of the Methodist Society, the form of the meeting was definitely the main cause of anxiety.

The event gained much of its effect from the form because it expressed the residual power of traditional opposition, typically articulated in affairs involving spontaneous groups engaged in ritualized activity. Rudé has made this point clear with regard to extra-parliamentary agitation during the eighteenth century when 'even at this level, spontaneous as many of such manifestations might appear, there was always a degree of organization, with some elementary channels of communication and command'.<sup>193</sup>

At the camp meeting, there was the same diversified activity based on groups and individuals who volunteered their services and were controlled by informal sanctions both within and across the offices. The division of responsibilities at the event were significant for it was the organizers setting the platforms and the major activists speaking from them that gave the spectacle its overall shape. Nevertheless, the praying labourers sustained the most direct relationship with the spectators and bore the primary task of conversion in the most ideologically approved manner. The attention of the spectators was not, therefore, directed solely toward the major activists and celebration, when individual spectators were 'saved', was typically mutually congratulatory. Thus the egalitarian form of the spectacle undercut many of the ideas articulated in the contributions made by the preachers and exhorters. Even in this area though, we should bear in mind the high status of narrative contributions for they, too, helped perpetuate a potentially undermining sub-culture based not on the rational pursuit of economic goals but a protest against the alienation implied in these ends. The stories were dynamic and focused on deeply significant personal experiences of adaptation and struggle

and were not the success stories contained in pamphlets on self-improvement directed toward the subordinate class.

In trying to identify potential power within the spectacle, a much more problematic issue than the location of residues of power, we might consider how accurate were the arguments put forward by the primary target group as regards the likely outcome of the event. The tendentious nature of the claims with respect to fears of mob violence, sexual promiscuity and so on were, in our view, absolutely dominant for the government had not put pressure on the Methodist Society with regard to large meetings and, in fact, opposition was waning. The attempts of Sidmouth and his allies to attack the institution of itinerant preaching came a couple of years later and, anyway, the Society itself were increasingly disapproving of such tactics. Even if the bill had been passed, it could not have been sustained as the trend was emphatically toward pluralism. The Methodist hierarchy were actually more concerned about their position with respect to the middle class for, between themselves, officials tended to articulate specific fears regarding behaviour of an 'enthusiastic' nature which might alienate potential members. Whatever the position taken by an observer, the view taken by the Society of the potential power of the camp meeting was very one-sided for it could just as easily be argued that there was the possibility of a democratic system based on decentralized, decision-making and responsibility being founded. The fact that such a view was not taken by the primary target group is a mark of the reactionary stance of the commentators. For such systems were not favoured by them, even between themselves. Similarly, although there was governmental opposition to the formation of egalitarian organizations leading to very harsh legislation, there had not been any interference with the internal workings of the

Methodist Society, even though it had involved autonomous lower-class activity. Consequently, it would be inadequate to argue that the consciousness of such systems did not exist, for the conditions were available whereby they could be developed.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE PROCESSION OF THE SCOTTISH REGALIA

In August, 1822, George IV, by spending two weeks in Edinburgh, became the first Hanoverian monarch to visit Scotland. Up until the king's landing at Leith on 15 August, tremendous financial and political arrangements were made and, during his stay, an enormous number of ceremonial events took place, the first of which was a vast entry procession from the dock to Holyrood Palace. Subsequently, there were two Courts and a Levée, a Procession from the Palace to the Castle, a banquet, two balls, visits to St Giles Cathedral and the Theatre Royal, a Military Review and private journeys by the king to leading aristocrats resident in the Edinburgh area. George finally departed on 29 August from Port Edgar. Throughout the time of the royal visit, the citizens and visitors to Edinburgh were provided with bonfires, illuminations and food, distributed through formal entertainments and as 'charitable gifts' - mostly in the form of leftovers from the royal table. The recipients of the former were, typically, tenants of large landowners whilst the 'gifts' were given to the poor who gathered around the kitchen doors of the houses of the great. Likewise, money was distributed to dependants to drink the king's health and also to various institutions such as the Royal Infirmary and the Destitute Sick Society.<sup>1</sup>

The Catalogue of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery's exhibition on 'George IV in Edinburgh' claims that all the events were typical of royal visits made subsequently save 'only the State Progress of the King from Holyrood to the Castle with the regalia of Scotland borne before him, provided a spectacle that has seldom been repeated'. Further, 'the ceremonies connected with the Scottish regalia formed the focal points of the Royal visit of 1822'.<sup>2</sup>



It is, therefore, both the uniqueness and emphasis placed on the event which will be a central feature of this chapter. We shall seek to demonstrate the accuracy of these claims in the Catalogue but also hope to illuminate some of the underlying reasons why this particular spectacle became the centrepiece of what was generally a very significant visit. The perambulations of a monarch around his kingdom had long since ceased to be common practice and, consequently, the spectacle, as well as the visit in general, will be considered in the light of the factors leading to the revival of royal tours. The structure of the chapter is, then, formulated so as to focus upon the King's Progress from Holyrood Palace to Edinburgh Castle on 22 August bearing in mind its singularity and the importance placed upon it in the varied programme prepared for the exceptional visit of a monarch to Scotland.

## I

The Procession of the Regalia from Holyrood Palace to Edinburgh Castle was intended to be an exact copy of an ancient traditional practice carried out in Edinburgh when Scotland was still a kingdom.<sup>3</sup> The route of the first half of the spectacle was traditional but the return to Holyrood after the presentation of the key of the Castle to and display of the king involved going down the Mound, along Princes Street, the main shopping road, and from thence Waterloo Place was taken by the protagonists back to the Palace.

Considerable efforts were made to ensure the best possible view for the onlookers; the town Magistrates ordered the demolition of a number of buildings which either 'obstructed or deformed' the route.<sup>4</sup> In addition, facilities for the populace to view the event

were provided by erecting a number of galleries at various points along the route. Many of the stands were occupied by representatives of different organizations who, because they were often clad in ceremonious dress, added considerably to the effect of the event. Although the weather was poor on the day, crowds were not dissuaded from filling the streets and windows of the proposed route. By one o'clock the corporations and trades of Edinburgh, each grouped together and dressed so as to illustrate the organizations's craft stood in lines two or three deep, occupying the whole of the route from the Abbey to the Castle-hill. Each group was costumed and displayed emblems, garlands and banners. When the procession finally moved off at two o'clock, delayed by the rain, it consisted of soldiers, yeomanry, Highlanders, the Company of Archers as well as aristocrats in their capacities as crown officers accompanied by their attendants. Most of the parade was on horseback but the king was borne in a carriage. The dress of the whole procession consisted of historical costumes, tartan and troops' uniforms and the various symbols of state, such as the crown, sword of state and so on.

Once the procession had left the palace, it proceed up the Cannongate to the High Street where, at the Netherbow, six girls preceded the carriage strewing the way with flowers. Just outside the Castle, between the rows of scaffold, the king was greeted by soldiers, yeomanry and Highlanders. The Marchmont Herald announced to the Governor the king's arrival. When George arrived, he descended from the carriage onto a platform where the Lord High Constable, Commander of the Forces and Governor of the Castle presented the keys. After returning the keys to the Governor, the king crossed the drawbridge and stepped into another carriage. Accompanied by soldiers, nobles and the Lord High Constable, the king entered the Castle and

drew up at its high point - the half-moon battery, where there were two platforms; George ascended the upper platform to view the scene. A salute was fired, the band played the National Anthem and soldiers presented arms. The people cheered and the king cheered, waving his hat despite the rain and fog. Fifteen minutes later, George left the platform and, after a short reception in the Governor's house, the procession returned to the Palace via the Mound, Princes Street, the Regent's Bridge and the New Road, arriving at four o'clock. The king then returned to Dalkeith House, some miles outside Edinburgh, where he was staying and the spectators dispersed in the pouring rain.<sup>5</sup>

The procession, itself, was a splendid sight. It was made up of companies marching in step to band or bagpipe music. Between them were the mounted officials dressed in colourful costume. Its order was as follows: the Mid-Lothian Yeomanry accompanied by their trumpeters, the Marischal's Guard followed by a detachment of Scots Greys and their band. Then came the Marchmont Herald accompanied by trumpeters. In turn passed the Knight Marischal, Sir Alexander Keith, the Usher of the White Rod, Sir Patrick Walker, Lord Lyon King at Arms, the Earl of Kinnoull and the Lord High Constable. Each of these dignitaries was accompanied by a guard made up of an assortment drawn from the Marischal's Guard of Highland Gentlemen, the Mid-Lothian Yeomanry, the Lord High Constable's Highland Guard, the Constable's Guard of Partisans and individuals portraying esquires, henchmen, heralds and attendants. The next section of the parade was made up of various aristocrats displaying the regalia, commencing with the Earl of Morton carrying the Sword of State. He was followed by the Hon. John M Steuart with the Sceptre and lastly the Duke of Hamilton with the Crown. These individuals were accompanied by

macers, grooms, esquires, pages all dressed to match and blend in with their seigneur. Lastly, came the king accompanied by the Royal Company of Archers, Constable's Guard of Highland Gentlemen, soldiers and yeomanry.<sup>6</sup>

According to Mudie, the publisher who provided the most detailed account of the visit, 'the dresses which attracted the greatest attention were those of Sir Alexander Keith, the Earl of Kinnoull and the Duke of Hamilton.'<sup>7</sup> However, the Morning Chronicle had another explanation for the popularity of the last for 'next to the King the object of attention was the Duke of Hamilton, who was cheered along the whole line, partly on his own account, and partly from his carrying the ancient symbol of Scottish independence'.<sup>8</sup> The Knight Marischal rode a black Arabian, richly caparisoned and wore a white satin cloak over an embroidered doublet of white and gold and a white plumed hat. He was accompanied by a pair of Henchmen in rose satin, slashed with white, whilst their underclothes, silk stockings and roses in their shoes were all white. The Lord Lyon also rode a an Arabian and wore a mantle of crimson velvet lined with white silk, a green velvet surcoat edged with a gold band, gold striped white pantaloons, a cap of ermine-bordered crimson velvet and a gold crown, collar and badge of office and carried the green enamelled, gold thistle-flowered baton of office. The two grooms by his sides wore white surtouts with red collar, cuffs and cap. The Duke of Hamilton wore the dress of the age of Charles I, slashed with white and a lace vandyked collar. He was attended by Dr Mackintosh as captain of the Celtic guard and Robert Roy, esq as adjutant. Not only was there a range of historical periods but there was also some geographical spread for Sir Patrick Walker, as White Rod, wore a crimson and gold jacket, a crimson-lined mantle of white satin, crimson lower

vestments, gold tasseled and fringed brown boots and a black velvet Spanish cap looped with gold and decorated with black plumes. His assistants were dressed in blue surtouts, gold-edged white sashes, ruffs, Spanish caps and brown boots.<sup>9</sup>

All the different bodies of marching men were distinctively clad. The Highlanders, wearing kilts in the appropriate tartan, were divided into seven bodies consisting of the Celtic gentlemen, M'Gregors, Sutherlands, Glengarry's men, Celtic regalia guard, Drummonds and Breadalbane Highlanders. In fact, the eighty gentlemen of the Celtic Society were not necessarily highlanders, although they were 'splendidly robed in various tartans'.<sup>10</sup> The troops and yeomanry wore scarlet uniforms and the Company of Archers, an association for the nobility, had a special uniform designed for the visit consisting of 'Robin Hood Tartan Jacket, Tartan trews, the Highland hose, the flat blue bonnet, the ruff, Robin Hood belt, and white Satin bow case, worn as a scarf'.<sup>11</sup>

Since the majority of available reports were provided by sycophantic Tory newspapers, it was only the Whig Scotsman and Morning Chronicle which gave anything approaching a critical report. The Scotsman remarked of the procession that 'the Marischall Guard of Highland Gentlemen, though finely accoutred, were neither so uniform in their dress and general appearance, nor did they march with the same accuracy' as the Breadalbane Highlanders.<sup>12</sup> The attempt to give the spectacle a military feel was carried through by the king who appeared in Field Marshal's uniform.<sup>13</sup> It will be seen that, apart from the six flower girls, all the main actors were men. These girls were dressed in white with blue sashes from which hung the St Andrew's cross and their heads were circled by wreathes.<sup>14</sup>

Not only was the procession rich with colourful costume and pro-

perties, but many of the bystanders were present as representatives of various organizations and, as a result, were dressed uniformly. These participants were drawn from various guilds, such as the Incorporation of Candlemakers and Society of Chairmasters. Details of the costume of them all are not available but we have enough to gain a good idea of their appearance. The Society of Gardeners exhibited numerous floral emblems,

among these a plume, composed of the flowers of the brightest varieties of the hollyhock, and tastefully arranged so as to form the triple feather, so long the crest of his Majesty while Prince of Wales. ... The Society of glass-blowers was particularly conspicuous. The officer at their head wore a glass hat, with a glass sword and target; and each member carried a long glass rod.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the trades standing in the street, there were stands which provided the occupants with a superior view and, at the same time, gave those standing below additions to the visual splendour. On one stood the Magistrates, Lord Provost and officers and visiting dignitaries; ladies supplied with tickets by the Lord Provost filled the balcony of the Royal Exchange. Other galleries were erected - before St Giles Cathedral with divisions for Peeresses, the Merchant Company, the Commissioners of Police; the Clergy, Senatus Academicus, Royal College of Physicians. There were two galleries before the Advocates Library and County Hall for the College of Justice and the Freeholders and Commissioners of Supply. A gallery at the West Bow was utilized by the boys and masters of High School, Heriots Hospital and Watson's Hospital and the girls of Merchants and Trades' Hospitals. The boys from High School were clad in blue jackets, white trousers, dark blue silk scarfs and medals hung from their necks whilst the boys from the other two schools appear to have been identified solely by the medal on blue riband and national favour attached to their persons.<sup>16</sup> Finally, there



were children drawn from unnamed institutions but one would guess they came from orphanages catering for the lower class since the Edinburgh Evening Courant describes how 'the children of the inferior institutions, cleanly dressed, were placed in convenient situations'.<sup>17</sup> The ceremonial dress of the city Magistrates, Lord Provost and officers of Edinburgh and other Scottish towns as well as the academic robes of the clergy, University senate and physicians added to the colour. Finally, to extend the colour of the participants,

the stands were hung in front with draperies of scarlet cloth, and painted awnings had been stretched over them in case of rain. The name of each county was placarded before the several divisions of the stands, which were erected in the form of stages, and raised to a great height on each side the road leading from the top of the high street up to the very archway on the crest of the hill, under which the King passed into the castle.<sup>18</sup>

The costume of the activists was a curious mixture of periods, although a general pattern is discernable. In the main, they were drawn from Elizabethan and medieval dress and even the Spanish costume suggests the time when our fleet confronted the Armada. There was one curious anomaly, namely Hamilton's dress which was explicitly referred to by commentators as deriving from Charles I's reign. This may seem an odd choice on the part of the Duke of Hamilton given that the House of Hanover superceded that of the Stewarts and the earlier monarch was best known for having lost his head. No explanation is readily available for Hamilton's choice for the title was older than the early seventeenth century and the crown which he bore in the procession was largely a product of the early sixteenth century.<sup>19</sup> The only possible reason might lie with the Duke's outspoken support for electoral reform. Yet it seems unlikely that the provocative element in his dress would have been overlooked by commentators given the rapidity with which the reactionary press respond-

ed to the mildly reformist remarks made by Hamilton in a speech delivered at the Civic Banquet. The principle impression we have gained of the garb of the activists was of largely arbitrary decisions and individual choice. It seems to have been left to the principals to organize their own dress and choose their own design. For it was reported of the Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable, that 'His Lordship was disappointed of his proper robes of office, in consequence of the shortness of the time allowed for preparations' for the entry of George IV into the city a few days previously as he 'appeared habited in the regimentals of the Hussars, in which gallant corps his Lordship is lieutenant. He carried his baton of office'.<sup>20</sup>

This right was shared by the various organizations marching, such as the Company of Archers who chose their own costume.<sup>21</sup>

In order to explain this, we need to briefly examine the costuming of historical drama in the theatre of the period. Although by the mid-eighteenth century, historical accuracy was taken to be desirable throughout European theatre<sup>22</sup> in this country, there were two factors which made consistent period costume particularly difficult to achieve. Unlike many continental theatres, British theatre was dependant upon the paying, largely bourgeois audience. Investment in productions was commercially oriented and the aesthetic results were somewhat erratic. The actor, as a consequence, had some of the freedoms of the market situation as well as the restrictions. Performers provided their own dress and were apparently entirely free to appear as they deemed appropriate constrained always by finances. Later in the century, romanticism, which is the individualistic ethic turned artistic par excellence, encouraged this tendency to display the personality of the actor. As a result, the push toward antiquarianism, which reached its apogee on the continent in

the 1820s, had to wait for Charles Kean's productions in the London theatre thirty years later to find its British voice.<sup>23</sup> Attention paid to productions billed as historically accurate, notably Planché's of King John in 1824, merely serve to emphasize their rarity. In addition, historical research was at a much cruder level than today. The restrictions on resources, both political and economic, were considerable and even when manuscripts were made available, the criticism regarding the value and testimony of authorities was insufficient.<sup>24</sup> It was only within the epoch of the romantics that any interest was taken in the Middle Ages and the hodge podge of dress suggests that Gooch's strictures regarding the eighteenth century continue to be apt, at least in this spectacle. 'The abstract and absolute standard, the failure to realize the differences in atmosphere and the zeal for political and philosophic propaganda were hostile to patient research and disinterested investigation'.<sup>25</sup> We shall see below that, in addition to limitations in the application of *verstehen*, how the 'zeal for political and philosophic propaganda' also played a part in the presentation of the Progress.

We should not rely solely on the conditions then prevailing in the theatre to explain the disparateness of the dress. For despite stage management by Scott, the costumes seem to have been created rather more within the context of a masquerade or fancy dress occasion with each person responsible to and for themselves, hence the only coherency was the slight one between the seigneur and his attendants. Such a policy was a reflection of the limited constraints on the aristocracy's economic, political and social freedoms resulting in their power to prepare a fancy dress parade largely for their own gratification. Thus aesthetics, historiography, economic and political power combined to produce a particular style of costume.

Much space in the reports was devoted to the appearance of the crowds. At half past one,

the High Street presented a most brilliant and spirit-stirring spectacle. The windows and the galleries in front of the houses were filled with the assembled beauty and fashion of Scotland. The street, excepting the narrow path in the middle, was one dense living mass, men in coloured clothes, ranged in lines and small parties of military....Not a single person was to be seen whose exterior indicated squalidity or wretchedness. All were dressed decently, and a very great proportion handsomely.<sup>26</sup>

There are apparently several reasons why so much attention was paid to the dress of the crowd. In part, it was the sycophancy of the high-society reporter but remarks about the lower orders stemmed from the presupposition that there was a correlation between dress and behaviour. Patronizing remarks on the respectability of the costume of bystanders was a means of explaining why they behaved so well. It also suggested that Scotland was a prosperous country and, therefore, worthy of the high status being claimed for it by the ruling class. It is also perfectly possible that the lack of 'squalidity or wretchedness' arose from the absence of the labouring poor from the event. If this were the case, it could be explained as arising from deliberate choice or, more likely, by poverty. However, we shall be considering the aims of the organizers of the spectacle in more detail in the following section.

Certainly both the Tory and Whig press remarked on the attitude as well as dress of the crowds. 'Throughout the whole of this imposing ceremony', the Caledonian Mercury alleged, 'the most remarkable degree of order and decorum prevailed among all classes, and when it was finished the immense multitude which crowded the streets, galleries, windows and house tops dispersed, and went to their several homes with the utmost regularity and quietness'.<sup>27</sup> The Whig press was less effusive. Thus The Scotsman reported that 'the people

conducted themselves with the utmost regularity, propriety and decorum; but the cheering, far from being enthusiastic, was, on the contrary, uncommonly faint and partial'.<sup>28</sup> Mudie favours us with more specific comments on the crowd's response; the crown, for example provoked 'patriotic emotions'. The king was, of course, greeted with cheers. The behaviour of the various groups was reported as uniformly good and, in particular, the ladies were 'rapturous in the demonstrations of their regards' whilst the boys from the schools were 'rosy-cheeked smiling beings in the happiest moments of their existence'.<sup>29</sup> It would appear from contemporary reports that the women were more in evidence amongst the ranks of king-worshippers for their enthusiasm was often noted. A linen draper, Mr George Spence, who lived along the route of the Entry, accommodated women on his balcony (possibly his customers) and 'a beautiful married lady' went into ecstasies at the sight of the old and corpulent king.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Mary Grant told her mother that by the date of the Procession, her sister, Jane, was a confirmed 'kingite' and even sacrificed her feathers to the rain in order to get a better look at her monarch.<sup>31</sup>

Of the numbers present, only a very generalized picture can be drawn for most newspapers contented themselves with claiming 'thousands' or an 'astonishing multitude'.<sup>32</sup> The Scotsman, which hazarded a guess of 'one hundred and thirty or forty thousand spectators' were 'certain that so great a number of persons never was assembled in Edinburgh at one time'.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the overall impression given was that enormous numbers flocked to the capital from all part of Scotland. One reporter remarked that 'the streets present a most motley spectacle of men from every part of the country, and the varied modulation of their tongues has a very strange effect'.<sup>34</sup>



Most reports remarked on the class segregation of the crowd; thus The Scotsman, as noted above, described the 'assembled beauty and fashion of Scotland' at the windows and galleries of the houses. The Morning Chronicle indicated that the majority who stood in the street 'was that part of the posse comitatus which could not afford to pay for windows or seats'.<sup>35</sup> Onlookers even occupied the house-tops and the journalist from the Edinburgh Advertiser was 'astonished to see many females apparently quite at ease'.<sup>36</sup> Thus the spectators and participants were drawn from all classes and both sexes and were also physically divided along these lines. Viewing space was provided by the Town Council for some; the remainder found a place, either by buying on the open market or fighting for room in the 'free' areas. Apart from this socio-economic division, some classes were marked by the separation of the sexes.

The Town Council took upon itself the provision of covered seating for all female peeresses<sup>37</sup> and almost the entire gentry, for the 'lieutenancy stands erected on the Castle Hill', as Mary Grant made clear 'were set apart for the principal people of each county or such as the lords lieutenant of each county chose to think so'.<sup>38</sup> In addition, large sections of the bourgeoisie were catered for - both professional and mercantile. On the whole, the former did better since ministers of the Church of Scotland, members of the Royal College of Physicians, College of Justice and Edinburgh University Senate were all seated along the High Street. Selected businessmen gained seats on the basis of their civic appointments. In Edinburgh, 'the Town Council consisted of a narrow group of thirty-three merchants and members of the incorporated trades who could only be elected by the retiring council'.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, a report from Glasgow in the weeks prior to the arrival of George indicated that 'in the depu-



tation from the Merchants' house, names will be found to whom the commerce of this country is indebted, in no ordinary degree; while the deputation from the Trades' house represent that part of the community who have raised the manufactures to their present pitch.<sup>40</sup> The governing class were, therefore, spared anxiety regarding their seating accommodation on the day of the spectacle. Likewise, the cost of the ticket was unlikely to have been worth the comment of most of those gathered on the scaffolds.

Other sections of the bourgeoisie were driven into the market place since windows along the route were available for rent, albeit at phenomenal rates.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, comfortable, dry viewing-spots were available for those willing and able to dip their hands into their pockets. Spectators lacking the necessary funds i.e. the majority of Scots, were forced to gather on the pavement or sit on the rooftops where, apart from being subject to a steady downpour, the view was inevitably limited. People standing on the pavement were ranged behind the rows of trades and guilds members and had no raised blocks to improve their view whilst the remainder on the rooftops of the several-storied buildings flanking the route would have only got a distorted picture of the procession.

Another basic factor in the distribution of the spectators and participants was the inequality between the sexes. Other than the six flower girls, who only made a brief appearance, no women took part in the parade which was confined to men holding office under the king, largely as a result of hereditary rights, or dependants bound by wages or remnants of tribal affiliations. This meant that it was chiefly the womenfolk of aristocratic landowners who required special seating and also accounted for the greater mix of sexes in the scaffolds provided for the gentry. Furthermore, the dominance

of men was carried over into the participants, for guild membership was not open to women so this meant the whole route was bounded by double or triple rows of men. This exclusiveness was also true of the professional and academic associations as well as local government. As a result 'numbers of females elegantly attired graced the different platforms and galleries from Holyrood House to the Castle'.<sup>42</sup> Naturally, not all the tradesmen were wealthy businessmen, nor were they all considered suitable to act as 'temporary guildsmen' i.e. merchants and other householders recruited to swell the numbers lining the route of the procession. Hence the remnants of lower middle class men fought with their wives, daughters and sisters behind the lines for a better view of the spectacle. Amongst them were the labourers, male and female, with no interests worth according formal recognition. Women whose husbands were tradesmen did not have their contribution to the economy recognized and neither did the propertyless labourer of either sex.

Before closing this section, we need to consider the spectacular nature of the event. There seems to be little doubt that the Procession of the Scottish Regalia was impressive. It was made up of a parade involving figures dressed in historical costume and troops of the realm clad in uniforms some having national and others local significance. Likewise, symbols of the power of the monarchy were paraded and music with military and nationalistic implications was played. The impact of the procession was extended by using groups representing cultural and economic skills clad in fanciful dress who also supplied music of a nationalistic nature. Stands were erected to hold representatives of dominant institutions who played a political or ideological role in the maintenance of the status quo. All these people took trouble or were instructed to appear clothed

in their identificatory robes.<sup>43</sup>

Controlling a crowd of this immense size posed problems, particularly as the spectacle was alleged to be 'the occasion upon which the people of Edinburgh were to make their nearest approach to the King'.<sup>44</sup> In actual fact, as we shall see below, this was a purely ideological explanation for a policy with a much more complex purpose. Nevertheless, the technical difficulties of controlling the crowd and protecting the king whilst keeping military forces to a minimum exercised the attention of bourgeois correspondents to the press. The solution proposed by one, namely to provide 'a slight patrol of cavalry to keep the centre of the street open'<sup>45</sup> turned out to follow the lines of official policy. In addition to this force, though, 'here and there stood a special constable or Fifeshire yeoman mounted ... and to prevent disturbance, all the cross streets were filled by cavalry'.<sup>46</sup> Thus the forces of law-and-order adopted a low-key profile. Regarding protection of the king, it was easy to blend the Mid-Lothian Yeomanry and Scots Greys into the cavalcade. However, what none of the correspondents knew, or admitted to knowing, was that the participants i.e. Incorporations and 'temporary members' lining the route played a crucial role, for to them fell the task of keeping the spectators absolutely separate from their monarch. The line was deliberately strengthened for after 'the masters, journeymen, and apprentices, all who could make a decent appearance, were mustered, to make the line more complete, a vast number of merchants and householders of various descriptions were enrolled, and had fixed places assigned them'.<sup>47</sup> Thus the most reliable citizens, i.e. Edinburgh property-holders, were used. That is not to say that many did not support proposals for electoral reform, free trade and so forth, positions which the king did not share, but such people were

not, typically, opposed to the institution of monarchy and, further, were very much in favour of maintaining the security of their property. The correspondence of Walter Scott, an important organizer, demonstrates clearly how the event's structuring served to facilitate policing. He wrote to Lady Abercorn after the visit was over that 'I thought I knew my countrymen well and recommended the absence of all military except the guard of honour'.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, Scott informed W S Rose that the spectators and participants 'were all separated into their own different classes and crafts an excellent receipt for insuring good order among the most riotously disposed'.<sup>49</sup>

We may speculate as to the reasoning behind this strategy. It would enable the military to be more effectively disposed so as to command particular parts of the route. Then by dividing the lower classes from the wealthier sections of the community, the latter would be more easily protected from the depredations of their subordinates. Even so, at no time would the classes have mixed, for the socio-economic divisions would have operated, placing many viewing sites beyond the means of most potential spectators. Yet by building scaffolds, the feared subordinate groups could be separated into smaller, manageable sections, overawed physically by the favoured minority. Furthermore, by giving householders specific tasks, their commitment to the procession was likely to be strengthened, particularly as all would have had to individually pay for their costume and personal properties. In this way, as Scott sums it up, 'the will of all' his fellow organizers 'being excellent, we contrived that the whole demeanour of the population should be the most regular and imposing which you ever saw'.<sup>50</sup>

As a complex spectacle of this nature cannot be summoned up by a wave of a magic wand, the planning involved was considerable. Once

the proposal that the king should visit Scotland was made definite in July, Edinburgh Town Council appointed a committee to make arrangements for his stay. Shortly after, representatives of the Lord Chamberlain's office arrived to assist in the planning<sup>51</sup> and from then on, there was a steady trickle of crown officials, including those who, in practice, were attached to the government.<sup>52</sup> The Progress itself came under the charge of the Crown and Government officials, so that the announcement of the details of the ceremonial for the procession was over Lord Kinnoull's signature, as Lord Lyon, and was countersigned by Viscount Melville, Lord Privy Seal, and William Dundas, Lord Clerk Register, indicating that the instructions should be obeyed as an expression of the royal will.<sup>53</sup> Various organizations, such as the Celtic Society, were invited to make a contribution and they, alongside associations like the Incorporations, made their own detailed arrangements. Although The Scotsman devoted a column to refuting the emphasis placed by the Tory press on Scott's work, it does appear that he, along with Colonel David Stewart, was largely responsible for the management of the Progress.<sup>54</sup> A major responsibility of the Lord Chamberlain's office was royal stagings but, in this instance, they seem to have relied on Scott and Stewart's more specialized knowledge of Scottish history though it seems unlikely that the office lacked the general competence. Oman quotes a story which gives some idea of the importance placed by the organizers on the 'national' element.

Mr Mash of the Lord Chamberlain's office had been sent north as long ago as May for a tour of inspection, and had come again to settle on July 26th, none too soon. Sir Walter Scott had crossed swords with him once and forever. The official had begun by talking continually about what had been done in Ireland last year. 'I beg, Mr Mash, to hear no more of Ireland. Ireland is a Lordship; when His Majesty comes amongst us he comes to his ancient usages. If you persist in bringing in English customs, we turn about, one and all,



and leave you. You take the responsibility on yourself'. After this Mr Mash was quiet, but over the drawing-room he was in his element.<sup>55</sup>

Proclamations regarding provisions for spectators and some participants were published at intervals by the Council.

The cost of the event must have been colossal for the Town Council issued instructions for the demolition of buildings along the route. Work was done on both the Castle and Holyrood Palace and a specially built road brought the king from Dalkeith House, where he was staying, to Holyrood for the start of the Progress. The Council was also responsible for the erection of the viewing galleries and the general dressing of the street. Apart from sales of tickets at half a guinea, none of the expense appears to have been recouped.<sup>56</sup> The various Companies and Incorporations spread the costs of costing and properties such as banners between the individual members and the funds of the organization.<sup>57</sup> Activists presumably shouldered the burden of the expense of their costumes, although Sir Patrick Walker wore part of his attire from the coronation.<sup>58</sup> It will be clear that the major part of the cost was borne by the Government and Town Council out of tax revenue although this was in direct variance with the weight of symbolic content. We shall be examining the question of the ideology embodied in the event in greater detail below so only a few preliminary remarks will be made at this juncture.

The whole display was devoted to a presentation of the appurtenances of kingly rule, namely the crown, sword of state and sceptre. The presence of leading members of the Scottish ruling class in the actual enactment helped concretize the power symbolized by these items. Likewise, their dress affirmed the image of the continuity of their rule; surcoats, doublets, ruffs, 'van dyke' style were all



worn in the parade. Yet the claims for legitimate domination were articulated in a low-key, non-threatening, even pleading, mode of presentation. A benevolent, non-violent kind of rule was dramatized so as to 'have our national pride satisfied that the whole affair is not a military parade'.<sup>59</sup> The king and Government certainly shared the aims of the local ruling class for an official request over George's name that the Archers should act as his personal guard was consistent with the kind of picture Scott and the rest of the organizing committee were aiming for.<sup>60</sup> We have already noted the concern of ideologues regarding the numbers of troops to be used for they were extremely anxious to avoid having the effect of the procession filtered by lines of soldiers. Significantly weapons were not worn by the activists and this, combined with the slow walking horses helped to emphasize the vulnerability of the aristocracy. Additionally, the peers holding the regalia were seated on mounts rather than being enclosed in carriages. The king's bodyguard were, of course, armed with swords but the specifically Scottish elements, like the highlanders and Royal Company of Archers were armed with more antiquarian weapons such as the dirk and bow. Yet the event was unmistakably a symbolic display of the power of the landed interests for traditions associated with pre-industrial dominance were utilized. The bourgeoisie connived in this emphasis for many were actually involved in the organization of the Progress and agreed, not merely to play supporting roles, but to police the streets on behalf of the nobility.

## II

In this next section, we shall be discussing the organizers. In formal terms, the initiator of the whole event was George IV, him-

self but because the monarchy was an institution tightly woven into the structure of the state with many, often opposing interests, having some stake in the royal family's continuity, it is necessary to consider a whole set of different bodies. Nevertheless, the king did have certain specific interests for, although the position of the institution of royalty was secure, his personal situation was not. According to Plumb<sup>61</sup>, the visits to Scotland and Ireland, which were the first outside south-east England taken by any Hanoverian monarch, were made because of George IV's unpopularity.

Christopher Hibbert<sup>62</sup> accounts for the king's position as the result of an accumulation, over many years, of resentments shared by members of all classes. Up till 1812, the Prince of Wales (as George IV was then) had been a Foxite. But after the regency was conferred, he swung to the Tories because his support for the Whigs was based largely on his personal relationship with Fox who was, by then, dead. Having alienated one party, he actually courted opposition by insisting on instituting divorce proceedings against his wife, as soon as he acceded to the throne. The ruling class could hardly be complacent about the dangers for the immediate effect was an open split in their own ranks as individuals came out for or against the queen. On a more long-term view, there was a potential threat to the stability of the monarchy itself. Notwithstanding, the governing class were not prepared to close ranks behind the king on this issue and, in fact, this was consistent with previous refusals to him, as regent, to increase his pay and settle his debts.<sup>63</sup> Other classes supported the queen because either they accepted the notions of 'persecuted innocence' or as a result of the king's open support for repression and total opposition to any kind of reform, included in which were his active involvement in anti-radicalism and

public applause of the actions of the magistrates at Peterloo.<sup>64</sup>

Although George IV was faced both with the problem of personal . unpopularity and the more general difficulties of fending off attacks on the power of the crown, he seems to have had mixed feelings about the proposed trip. Therefore, we are not, as Plumb seems to want to suggest, simply dealing with the wishes of one individual, for though 'George IV, be-kilted, be-sporraned, be-tartaned, riding up Princes Street to Holyrood house to the roaring cheers of the loyal Scots, was showing the way that the monarchy would have to go if it were to survive into an industrial and democratic society'<sup>65</sup>, he was not carrying out this task alone. It is true that in a rush of enthusiasm after the success of the coronation spectacle, the king committed himself to visiting Ireland and Scotland excited by the idea of further vainglorious jollification. Likewise, the triumphant stay in Ireland encouraged him but, unfortunately, the king then set his sights on going to Vienna. A number of reasons have been put forward as to why George changed his mind. According to Oman, the king 'was said to have been rather unwilling to go to Scotland where domestic morality was strict'.<sup>66</sup> However, there were a number of other factors likely to make a stay north of the border unpleasant for a Hanoverian monarch. It was by no means clear how far the ordinary Scots saw themselves as British for 'there still survived the traditional linkage of land with family pride and local leadership and protection'.<sup>67</sup> Even where this was less the case, for example, in the lowlands, the persistence of provincial identification remained significant for 'regional variety was characteristic of the whole country from Galloway and the Borders to Caithness and beyond!'. Saunders adds, 'there was in Scotland no official recognition of province or pays, but their identities persisted and their names were

in popular usage'.<sup>68</sup> Then, as the magazine of the Episcopal Church was not slow to point out, the Stewart line had only died out thirty years previously<sup>69</sup> and memories are made longer when suppression reinforces them. Further, as it transpired, the harsh dealings with the west-coast uprising two years previously failed to eliminate working class opposition for, until 1824, union members continued to be active. Likewise, the Whigs were gaining strength amongst the Edinburgh bourgeoisie and only a few years previously had begun to shatter the dominance of the oligarchy controlling the Merchants Company which, in turn, was a powerful voice on the Town Council.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, George IV went to Scotland because the British government and Scottish landowners wanted him to go. Later, we shall see why an unpopular king was still considered by the Scottish aristocracy to be an asset.

Although provision for the king's journey and entertainment was made by the king's own servants, at the local level, the organizer of the Progress of the Regalia was the committee convened by the Town Council. It consisted entirely of gentry, apart from Arbuthnot, the Lord Provost, who, although drawing much of his wealth from shareholdings and directorships in a variety of companies, also came from a landowning family. Despite the obvious preponderance of landed interests on the committee, it would be a mistake to assume that this was, in itself, an adequate explanation for why public events favouring the aristocracy were so consistently presented. For the Town Council, itself, was dominated by businessmen.<sup>70</sup>

Firstly, like all capitalists, they wanted to make money, as The Scotsman remarked, the king's visit led to an expansion in 'the consumption of beef and wine, silks and mercery'.<sup>71</sup> For this purpose, it was necessary to promote the trip as vigorously as possible and

to create the maximum number of excuses for ceremonial and state pageantry since these events were doubly profitable. They acted as an excuse to distribute contracts for building work, tailoring and so on. Secondly, provisions and mementos for the spectators could be supplied.

Then there was the question of the present and future relationship of the bourgeoisie with the ruling class to be considered. Scottish capitalists were less powerful in the economy than in England and only a small part of the country had developed a profitable agriculture. Further, Scottish interests of any kind were inadequately represented in both Houses of Parliament which problem was exacerbated by the fact that all MPs' seats came under the patronage of the powerful Dundas family. Although the west-coast industrial towns were developing rapidly, 'until arrested by the economic crisis of 1825, the expansion of Edinburgh had been more conspicuous and more influential than even that of Glasgow. This was due to its position as a capital city, with a spread of old-fashioned industries and a concentration of national institutions that gave it prestige.'<sup>72</sup> As a result, bankers and merchants were in an equivocal position since though they dominated the Town Council, in Edinburgh, the most powerful Scottish town, they did not have a substantial base in many of the city and national institutions. Political and cultural domination were at odds for the tone of Edinburgh was set by professionals, intellectuals and ideologues of all political persuasions. The cultural network was coloured by another factor for 'the lawyers' closest link, indeed, were with the country gentry of the Lothians rather than with the "mercantile interests" of their own city'.<sup>73</sup> Thus, Edinburgh businessmen had a political interest to be served by inveigling themselves into the favour of the nobility. Addition-



ally, they were naturally always seeking for changes in the law to enhance the acquisition of profit. In a capital city dominated by professionals and intellectuals, there was even less chance that mercantile values would find a cultural voice.

As a result of the position of mercantile interests, the presence of the gentry on the committee with their neo-feudal ideology made it easy both to mount spectacle demonstrating the power of the largest landowners and to work with aristocratic bodies. There were two major organizations concerned - the Royal Company of Archers and the Celtic Society. The year 1822 was important for the Archers 'as they then emerged from the partial obscurity (so far as regards public appearances of any grandeur) in which they had for so many years remained and appeared in the most honourable and distinguished position which their most ardent supporters could have wished'.<sup>74</sup> There were two principle reasons for the company's inactivity namely the Jacobite membership and the mass exodus to London after the Act of Union. The Archers offered themselves as guards for the king during his visit which was accepted, although their presence was of little practical value since bows and arrows could hardly be used efficiently in a closely packed city street. However, the company felt that 'it would both materially increase the membership, and, in consequence, the funds, and give a higher status and dignity to the body than it had ever previously enjoyed'.<sup>75</sup> In contrast to the Royal Company of Archers, the Celtic Society was only founded in Edinburgh in January, 1820 'to promote the general use of the ancient Highland dress in the Highlands' and for 'encouraging and reviving the national dress and customs of the mountains'.<sup>76</sup> Part of their funds were also used to extend education into the north of Scotland.<sup>77</sup> Their membership drew on 'nobles ... and the most respectable gentlemen of Scot-



land'.<sup>78</sup> There was a third, semi-formally organized, group made up of men from various highland estates. Most of them were cottagers who had responded in their hundreds to the call by their 'chief' to attend him or, in the case of a female head, a male nominee to Edinburgh. Probably most were attracted by the free uniform, food and journey to the capital. The men came under the aegis of the Earl of Breadalbane and Countess of Sutherland whilst the Drummond and Gregor clans were also represented.<sup>79</sup> Glengarry sent a socially select band of twelve. All these associations and groups practised with their weapons and drilled; both the Archers and the Celtic Society prepared on the Meadows, a large open space in Edinburgh, and the highland landlords drilled their tenants before they left their estates so as 'to appear as Highland clansmen of patriarchal times'.<sup>80</sup>

Thus the organizers and the vast majority of the personnel of the groups were drawn from the same narrow social strata - the Scottish aristocracy. We shall find other examples of the commitment by the upper class to the king's visit but, meanwhile, we shall give some consideration to their aims. It is important to realize that, as a group, Scottish peers had interests which were not shared by their English counterparts. Many of them still laboured under the disadvantage of the attainders passed against Scottish peers involved in the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, for there had been only two reversals and this occurred in 1797. As we noted in chapter two, the peerage was being expanded throughout the period partly as a result of restrictions on other forms of patronage but also because it was a means whereby the new wealth of commerce and industry could be acknowledged and incorporated. Gradually, however, wealth alone was increasingly the way into the House of Lords as well as the source whereby a more important title could be gained.<sup>81</sup> The Annual

Register of 1820 printed a tabulation of peers existing at the date of George IV's accession which demonstrates this change.

<u>Origins of Title</u>	<u>Number</u>
Court Favour	7
Family Influence	14
State Services	10
Naval Services	9
Military Services	23
Diplomatic Services	8
Legal Services	16
Marriage	4
Wealth	71

Opportunities for title via some form of military service were short-lived since they arose largely from the exploits of senior officers during the Napoleonic wars. Ennoblement as a result of state and legal service was only available to those willing and/or able to develop the necessary skills, so this left to the ambitious entrance through wealth or some form of influence alone.<sup>82</sup> On the whole, though English peers earned more from English acres than the Scottish peers from their estates north of the border.<sup>83</sup> The reasons range from the limited agricultural potential of many of the estates, low-level of Scottish capital investment and resistance to long-term planning on the part of the owners. The picture we have drawn above of the Scottish peerage may seem to over-emphasize agreement between lowland and highland landowners. Clearly, the support given by highland landowners to the Jacobite cause as well as the Catholic Church meant that Protestant-lowlanders were likely to continue to view them with suspicion, if not hostility. Nevertheless, it is clear that major differences had long since been resolved and that what really was at issue was the 'cultural divide' to which Keith Webb refers in The Growth of Nationalism in Scotland.<sup>84</sup>

There were a number of general aims which the Scottish aristocracy had regarding the whole of George IV's visit which we will outline

below. A more detailed discussion of these purposes will follow in the section on the ideology embodied in the since it is their particular articulation with which we are concerned. The Scottish aristocracy sought to raise their status in the eye of the British government, to nullify the antagonism between the north and south of Scotland and strengthen their own position in the country. Integral to this policy was the myth of a Celtic-Scottish past for it was the most obvious rationally specific element and thus most easily used to differentiate the Scots from the English. Further, the king's presence was vital to unification for he could be both incorporated into Scotland's history and, by virtue of his position as ruler of the whole of the United Kingdom, establish that the Scots were joined to the rest of the country. The point was to gain recognition of Scotland as an integral but distinct element in the United Kingdom through a series of devices. (1) by removing the final, formal, restrictions on old Jacobite peers to gain a 'pardon' for the uprisings of 1715 and 1745; (2) to gain public recognition of the Scottish contribution to the Napoleonic wars. This had largely consisted of the provision of numbers of highlanders as cannon fodder and would, therefore, help to further confirm the productiveness to the country, as a whole, of the clan relationship. (3) the aristocracy hoped for political rewards for their capacity to provide visual 'proof' of the numbers committed to the status quo and, in connection with this, (4) support to be given to them for their success in freshening up the image of the monarchy in line with the landed interests beloved 'visual' rule.

Much was made by reactionary newspapers of the 'non-political' purpose of the visit. The king certainly aimed to establish this,

for he 'determined not to pay any private visits, so that there will be no distinction of party or predilections manifested during his stay in Edinburgh'.<sup>85</sup> The aristocracy also placed great importance on this image of the non-political king which was why most of them were so appalled at the Duke of Hamilton's remarks on reform during the Civic Banquet at which George was present. Scott reported to a friend that Hamilton's 'whig friends whom I scrutinised closely, showed great signs of distressful impatience, and Lauderdale covered his face with his hands. There was no applause, but a gentle murmur, which only respect for time and place prevented from being a decided hiss...Morton got up and turned his back on the orator, and all the other peers seemed much annoyed'.<sup>86</sup>

We begin now to touch on why an unpopular king was still considered to have some value to Scottish landowners. The nobility wanted to improve their economic and political standing, some wanted to engage in commercial investment but they had no desire to **undermine lower class deference**. Clan loyalties involving tenure and other obligations of ownership often acted as a brake to the full exploitation of the land but subservience was a useful characteristic of the lower class. The aristocracy clearly felt that their lack of authority in the country was a product of their physical absence since the Act of Union over a century ago but they did not want to attempt a complete revival of the eighteenth century English form of local visible rule. They wanted to maintain many patriarchal ideas but the landowners were desirous of switching them onto a **symbolically powerfull** figurehead, leaving them free to exploit their property in any way which they deemed fit. As I shall hope to demonstrate, the

result was the creation of the apolitical father figure, lineally descended from Scottish kings but ruling over the whole of the United Kingdom, deeply aware of the needs of all his 'children' and available to all.

It is easy to see how attractive a model this could be to both the British Government and the king. This new policy of seeking to win the people's consent by claiming a personal rule based solely on affection meant George could divorce himself even from the class which had traditionally supported the monarchy, namely the aristocracy. This would permit him to respond to the challenge of the bourgeoisie from whom threats (and actual action) involving the curtailment of the power of the monarchy to some extent arose. The king could then use his remaining power to favour groups indiscriminately without being bound to either. It appears to be some kind of attempt by the king and aristocracy to give the monarchy a new image in the hope of placating the bourgeoisie. It could well be particularly attractive to the Scots nobility because of the relative weakness of the manufacturing interests and the longer tradition of paternalistic rule in the countryside. Further, by establishing the king as a neutral mediator, a means of overcoming conflict within the lower class might be found. Antagonism between the highland and lowland lower class could always flare up again, especially as so many of the former were moving into the central belt in search of permanent employment, often of an unskilled kind.<sup>87</sup> It is a mark of the resistance of the aristocracy to the old model of rule whereby power was supposedly divided evenly between the monarchy, the House of Lords and the House of Commons that a prominent ideologist should argue that it was 'to miscompute the age and mistake the nation' to keep to 'the old alignments and concealments of regal

state' because the 'popular impression' was that 'a British King lives and reigns for himself'. 'It was not natural, it was not wholesome, and the effects were morbid accordingly', he goes on to add that the king knew nothing of the material production and intellectual, moral and social activities 'of so many millions' and that 'these millions had never seen the head on which they had placed the crown, and daily invoked Heaven's blessing in their prayers'.<sup>88</sup>

### III

This section will be devoted, in the main, to the secondary target group for the Progress was largely created by the organizers with certain sections of Scottish society in mind. It will, I hope, become apparent that, although the responses of the primary target group, i.e. the government, were also a consideration, overall, their stance was of less significance. In considering the secondary target group, we shall hope to demonstrate three main points. Firstly, that the target group, contrary to what was alleged, was not the entire population of Scotland. As a result, the overlap of spectators with the secondary target group was much closer than was necessary given technical constraints regarding transport and so forth. Similarly, the social groups who were given particular consideration at the spectacle were not necessarily the same as those whom ideologues claimed were important.

For the purpose of this chapter, the secondary target group is that part of the population to which the main organizers, i.e. the sub-committee of the Town Council, directed the event. In the previous section, note was taken of groups, other than the committee, who had some power to influence the direction of the spectacle. For example, a proclamation was issued by the Town Council that cit-



izens should appear dressed in the national colours, namely a blue coat, white vest, nankeen or white pantaloons and the St Andrews Cross on dark blue as a cockade on the left side of the hat. Since women, regardless of class, could not be citizens, that was not a problem but arguments were put forward to oppose the plan, the most salient being the poor would not be able to afford it.<sup>89</sup> As it is, some men did adopt this dress, though probably not as many as the Edinburgh Advertiser tried to suggest.<sup>90</sup> Likewise, at some point, the peeresses apparently made some demur at sitting between the civic authorities and Church ministers but all was satisfactorily settled.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, the spectacle was planned and brought to fruition by the committee. The principle reason why they managed to achieve this accord was not, as sycophants have suggested, because Walter Scott was a wonderful person but followed rather from there being no real conflict as to the makeup and mode of formation of the secondary target group, as we shall hope to show below.<sup>92</sup>

The Scottish Episcopal Review made it quite clear that the king was not the target but the chief activist in the event and that, in addition to playing the leading role, his main function was to legitimate the spectacle, simply by his presence. They bemoaned the absence of a monarch because it meant the Scots had, until George's visit, lacked 'that public splendour and magnificence which are attached to majesty, and which seem to shed a dignity and an importance over those among whom, and on whose account they are exhibited'.<sup>93</sup> Herein lies the suggestion that a king is the product of the population's need to feel dignified. As a result, it was quite legitimate to openly extend congratulations on 'the fine effect produced on the public mind by the King's presence in this ancient nation'.<sup>94</sup> Given the supposed relationship of the king with the nation, it was

not surprising that many journalists hurried to infer that the purpose of the event was to enable as many 'Scotsmen' as possible to see the king. Thus, in Scotland, it was discovered, there was no one 'so poor or so mean as not to participate in the honest pride, and honour, and exultation' with the king's presence.<sup>95</sup> The Edinburgh Magazine wrote of 'the thousands who have flocked to the capital, from every corner of the Land o'Cakes',<sup>96</sup> and The Scotsman were in no doubt that people 'crowded from all parts of the city and country'.<sup>97</sup>

Yet, despite appearances to the contrary, I would suggest that only certain kinds of people were wanted in Edinburgh on that August day. Firstly, neither the authorities nor the bourgeoisie wanted those with no money to spend, for it was likely to mean an increase in the numbers of beggars, prostitutes and other members of the lumpen proletariat. Problems arising from heavy drinking and other forms of self-indulgence were likely to arise with the presence of numbers of the lower class with money to spend, but this was the kind of 'law-and-order' difficulty they were prepared to tolerate. There was apparently no suggestion that drinking houses should be controlled, although drunkenness was obviously expected.<sup>98</sup> Perhaps, more significantly, the authorities did not want the unemployed and the destitute only the employed, the respectable, namely those who shared bourgeois values, so that 'not one of the lowliest of whom present on that day but will feel as having risen a step in the gradation of society'.<sup>99</sup> Likewise, they did not want any who were likely to articulate some form of opposition to the event for, as the Whig newspapers pointed out, not all approved of the measures taken by the government in the king's name. Yet Whigs were no republicans for not a whisper of a boycott was heard, no they felt

confident of their supporters' respectful behaviour toward the king.<sup>100</sup> However, there were vociferous opponents, only in 1817, Neil Douglas, a radical, had been acquitted by a jury though he was indicted with having drawn a parallel between the Prince Regent and Belshazzar'.<sup>101</sup> Although activities connected with changes in local and central representation were at a fairly low level, anti-landlordism was not. In the Highlands, 'sporadic acts of popular resistance to the clearances erupted in every decade'.<sup>102</sup> Opposition, according to Richards, was largely non-violent after about 1813,<sup>103</sup> yet, notwithstanding the largely pre-industrial nature of their associations, the peasants had, in the past, organized sufficiently to draw the attention of the Scottish and English press to their struggle, petition the regent and his government and send a representative to London to urge their case.<sup>104</sup> Clearly all these elements - the unemployed, the 'criminal' and the radical - would be considered undesirable. Nevertheless, it was continually alleged that all Scots were welcome and yet, by dint of constructing the Progress in the way outlined in the first section so as to build up numerically insignificant organizations representing powerful elites and trusting to the mechanics of an unjust society effectively excluding others, the desired onlookers were gathered and manipulated into shape.

Even having gathered certain sections of society, there is some evidence to suggest that the organizers went further and aimed to construct an ideological population of Scotland. We shall examine this question under three main headings. Firstly, the term 'the people' had a sliding definition, so that it had meanings which differed with the context leading the writer, consciously or otherwise, to give a particular picture of the event. Secondly, regarding nu-

mbers from the regions, suggestions were made that more came from certain areas than seems likely allowing for circumstances. Thirdly, given the actual living conditions of many of the lower class, the alleged state of the onlookers could not be a true reflection of the distribution of wealth in Scotland.

The Morning Chronicle was sure that the Progress was 'the occasion upon which the people of Edinburgh were to make their nearest approach to the King'.<sup>105</sup> Yet, it appears that 'the people' merely constituted those members of the upper and middle classes placed on the scaffolds for 'accommodations had been erected for the several "grades" of the natives, and the utmost care taken that everybody should be secure'. Those thousands for whom no arrangements had been made evidently do not fall into the category of 'people'. Scott, on the other hand, perceived the people to be those standing in the street for, unlike the press, he was not afraid to admit that they were subject to controls designed to make them conform to the needs of the Progress. 'It was a very curious thing to see the whole roads and street lined with so many thousands of people who were (even the very meanest) all dressed in something like decent attire and each considering himself obviously as a part of the spectacle and as having the national reputation dependent to a certain degree on his own behaviour'.<sup>106</sup> That Scott believed the crowd saw themselves as part of the spectacle tells us more about his thinking regarding the Progress. The fact that he wrote in these terms tends to suggest, not he was a great democrat, for he was opposed to even the measly changes embodied in the 1832 reform bill, but that he was aware of the desired role to be taken by lower class onlookers. Although Scott seems to have used the term to describe a group within the spectacle, we may legitimately speculate that he considered his

subordinates should always be manipulated in this way. In contrast, the Whigs' use of the word 'people' to describe the middle class reflected their attachment to ownership of capital as the appropriate source of citizenship.

Nevertheless, by emphasizing that the onlookers were drawn from Edinburgh, as did The Morning Chronicle, rather than the whole of Scotland, like Scottish Episcopal Review, there was, at least, some undercutting of the euphoric inference that all the regions were fully represented.<sup>107</sup> The more likely explanation, given details of travel arrangements published in the press, was that considerable numbers came through to Edinburgh from Glasgow, Paisley and other weaving towns on the west coast.

The canal boats and the extra boats which the proprietors have put upon the canal, are insufficient to convey the passengers pressing to the metropolis, and we are told that coal punts have been put in requisition, and horses attached to them, as vehicles of conveyance. By the time the canal boats leave Port Dundas this afternoon, above 2500 persons will have left this city for Edinburgh, during yesterday and this day, by this mode of conveyance alone. For the accommodation of the public, the boats are to ply tomorrow, and we understand that a great number of individuals proceed on foot this day, and more this evening, as soon as their business is concluded.<sup>108</sup>

And this report was only printed on 12 August, nearly two weeks prior to the Progress, giving some idea of the numbers who flocked to Edinburgh from the west. Yet similar reports of numbers coming from Dundee or Aberdeen do not appear to be available, suggesting that distance was some object. For Aberdonian workers, 1822 was as prosperous a year as any they could expect at that period. The textile trade, building, civil engineering and shipping businesses were all expanding.<sup>109</sup> In contrast, financial restrictions alone would make it impossible for all the lower class of the highlands to travel south. It seems clear that the economic gradations of the north-east, west coast and Lothian subordinate class was almost un-



known amongst the crofters of the north and north-west. The ghastly poverty to be found in the coastal crofting townships, which appears to have been uniform, has been well-documented.<sup>110</sup> Hence, even if primitive communications permitted adequate spread of news in the short preparatory period preceding the king's arrival, the idea of the near destitute population travelling several hundred miles to view a monarch whose links with Scotland were tenuous strikes one as absurd. As has already been suggested, such inability was not viewed with disfavour by the organizers. Emphasis on the onlookers' smart appearance which we have noted above was, therefore, a result of the exclusion of the poor as well as being a tendentious claim. The ludicrousness of these statements about the subordinate class' dress and demeanour in a society where want could be viewed daily was pointed up by William Hone in his satire, The Northern Excursion of Geordie, Emperor of Gotham wherein the Emperor declares 'I am delighted with the clean and orderly appearance of my Northland subjects. There seems not to be a rag in the metropolis. I always considered them to be a proud people, and they have good reason to be proud. In their dress and deportment, they are all ladies and gentlemen. I am proud I was born a Northlander'.<sup>111</sup> Hone is, of course, also referring here to both the laughable assertions that the king was descended from Robert the Bruce and also statements about the crowds' alleged behaviour, to which we shall be turning shortly. It will be seen that the Episcopalian's claim that George IV was 'welcomed by all orders, and classes, and denominations, as their common sovereign' was not likely to have been correct.<sup>112</sup>

Probably the most outstanding attempt to dress the onlookers was the flood of tartan released onto the market by textile manufacturers. As Cockburn observed 'hundreds who had never seen Heather had the



folly to array themselves in tartan'.<sup>113</sup> The Glasgow Chronicle reported that 'so popular has the tartan become in Edinburgh, on the occasion of his Majesty's visit, that during the last week great numbers of the merchants of the city have been here, and after clearing the wholesale warehouses, visited even the retailers; and remnants of silk tartan, however small, were bought up with the greatest avidity'.<sup>114</sup> Likewise, agents of the Highland landowners, who were commissioned to rig-out the chief's tail, i.e. followers, were forced to travel to Glasgow to acquire the cloth - an indication of how unimportant tartan actually was amongst the lower class highlanders. It seems likely then that highland costume was mostly worn by middle- and upper-class lowlanders. Tartan silk was worn by some members of the ruling class<sup>115</sup> but one would hazard a guess that most was worn by middle and lower class onlookers. For, apart from the financial restrictions, many Highlanders no longer saw themselves as part of a clan. At the turn of the century, a visitor to the region remarked that Highland landlords, 'instead of being almost adored' were 'in general despised'.<sup>116</sup> On the whole then, as a result of economic restrictions and ideological differences, there is a likelihood that the spectators accurately reflected the latent, as opposed manifest, secondary target group.<sup>117</sup>

We shall turn now to a discussion of the major social groups represented amongst the spectators. There is some evidence to suggest that the most important section of the target group was the gentry. It is clear that they were given the prime seating on the route. After the procession left Holyrood it travelled non-stop up Cannongate and the High Street to the castle where it was to halt 'between the rows of scaffolding which had been prepared on the Castle Hill, for the Lieutenancy of the Country, and which were completely

crowded with ladies and gentlemen, his Majesty was received by a guard of the 60th regiment with presented arms'.<sup>118</sup> In addition, they were able to observe the king change carriages and accept the keys. Thus there was only one spot where anything other than a view of a moving cavalcade would be possible and it was here that the gentry were placed. Several points from the gentry's favoured position may be adduced, many of which will be exemplified in the later discussion of the spectacle's ideological content.

Firstly, the Scottish aristocracy shared the prevailing view of their English counterparts, that the gentry were the best restraining factor on the bourgeoisie and lower class. In many respects this opinion was strengthened by the smaller degree of industrialization and the greater dominance of regional values in Scotland. As MacLaren says of the land-merchant alliance of Aberdeen, 'the problem confronting this dynastic elite was the usual one of allowing industrialisation to proceed at a pace which enabled them to maintain their social power in the community'.<sup>119</sup> And not only their social but economic power, too. Yet, in many respects, the gentry qua gentry were even more important in Scotland than England because of the weaker position of the Justice of the Peace, for 'the office, while not unpopular, had not the tradition and prestige of its English model and many of the powers granted it had fallen into disuse'.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, religious beliefs were still a much more overt means whereby political differences were articulated. In the Highlands, as Richards has noted, after the turn of the century, 'popular discontent was invested increasingly in the ministers'.<sup>121</sup> And Neil Douglas, to whom we have already referred, on trial in 1817, was a universalist preacher. Like the Anglicans, the Church of Scotland had lost adherents throughout the eighteenth century but unlike the

English Church, its leaders were still prepared to take on the state.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, apart from, in 1810, voting a £10,000 grant to augment stipends of poorly endowed parishes, the British government was not prepared to invest in the Church for its ideological function was presumably seen as even less relevant than that of the Anglican Church, recipients of church-building grants.

Apart from the fact that the aristocracy were more likely to turn to the gentry for support since 'commitment to estate or farm was paramount with landowner and farmer, and cotton-spinning was secondary', there was also a more specific political reason.<sup>123</sup> Ferguson has pointed up the contrast between the Whig positions held in England and Scotland.

Scotland was in advance of England, where the Whig leadership, in spite of Brougham's furious tactics, still vacillated, torn between jealousy and dislike of the Tories and dread of the masses. In Scotland, on the other hand, the Edinburgh reviewers had captured the leadership of the Whig party, and Jeffrey and Cockburn were respected and trusted by the workers whose interests, it was felt, they had championed in court.<sup>124</sup>

How far the workers really trusted them is a moot point, nevertheless, it remains that the Scottish Whigs were apparently more democratic than their counterparts in England. In addition to particularly distrusting the Scottish bourgeoisie, the aristocracy could not even comfort themselves with the knowledge that, at least, they could keep an eye on their middle class. For, whilst absenteeism had not reached the heights it had in Ireland, fewer landowners were resident or visited their estates than in England.

The trend amongst the gentry was also to live in Edinburgh or even London. For example, by the 1830s, there was no resident proprietor on the Outer Isles and, out of 195 owners of estates in the north west Highlands and Hebrides, only forty six were permanently

present.<sup>125</sup> Similarly, properties in the more isolated districts were being sold or placed in the charge of an agent, for 'there was a brisk demand for small estates within riding distance of the great cities'.<sup>126</sup> In conjunction with these changes in ownership and abandonment of visible rule, developments in the behaviour of the gentry had taken place. 'The change', Brown declares, 'consisted in the abandonment of national manners and customs, and modes of speech for those of England, a process which had been going on from before the middle of the century'.<sup>127</sup> Thus anglicization in conjunction with the comparatively new search for investments which yielded profit helped to create distrust and downright antagonism within the subordinate class. The absorption of a colonized country's governing class is a familiar part of conquest. In the case of Scotland, the aristocracy were already heavily engaged with the English landowners. The gentry gradually accepted the values of the English and found themselves identified as the enemy by their subordinates. That is not to say that the gentry were daily confronted in an antagonistic manner nor is it to overlook the increasing organization of industrial wage earners but simply to affirm that the landed class were still the governing class. It was because there was a crisis in landlordism in a country where a peasant class could be identified but which was dominated by a successful capitalist country that nostalgia for the national neo-feudal past could be awoken. Attachment to the land was much greater in Scotland than in England, although this could be translated by any class into hunger for land of any kind, anywhere. There were other factors, too, underlying the interest in the Highlands - economic, political and ideological to which we shall turn in section four.

Meanwhile, we need to briefly consider other groups amongst the

the spectators. It would seem most likely that the majority were drawn from Edinburgh, the Lothians and Glasgow. The Lothians was a prosperous farming region populated by tenant farmers, cottars, semi-waged female labourers, ploughmen and indoor servants as well as tradesmen associated with agricultural services, like the wheelwright and blacksmith. In the county towns of Dalkeith and Haddington, major centres for grain transaction, were gathered professional workers, factors, providers of personal services and servants.<sup>128</sup> Yet it would be a mistake to assume that all these groups would be represented along High Street and Cannongate for summer is the time when agricultural labour is at a premium. In fact,

by 1800 the terms of employment for a typical Lothian cottar included the obligation to provide a woman 'bondager' from his family to shear at harvest time and carry at threshing time for no wages at all (this involved twenty, thirty or forty days unpaid hard labour in a year) and a further obligation to provide a female day-labourer who would work a ten-hour day at rates of up to one penny an hour. <sup>129</sup>

Edinburgh itself would be able to supply a higher than usual proportion of well-dressed workers because of the numbers of servants the large middle class population attracted. Similarly, skilled artisans were occupied in trades servicing the professionals, bankers and administrators with which the city abounded. Finally, there were the remnants of the luxury trades associated with a capital city with a royal court in residence. From the west came manufacturers, wholesalers, managerial staff, clerks, building contractors, and artisans which latter group would be dominated by fancy weavers. Both cities had their shopkeepers and reserves of semi-skilled and general labour drawn upon for both rural and urban employment, teetering on the edge of poverty. Thus, the spectators were almost entirely drawn from the most prosperous part of the country.

It would appear from the outpourings of individuals like Mudie



and the journalists on the principle newspapers that the whole exercise of the Progress was designed for the gratification of the lower orders. Leaving aside the arguments we have presented to demonstrate the emphasis placed on the presence of the gentry, there were other factors which might lead us to be doubtful as to the accuracy of their claims. In one sense, of course, the lower orders were the intended recipients of the spectacle else why bother to present events without privatizing restrictive practices such as, for example, members only tickets. Nevertheless, the display did not and was not intended to serve their interests. Outside of the fact that the Progress was essentially a plea for the continued domination of the landed interests, other evidence may be addumbrated to support our contention. Although it was said that the purpose was to show the people in their class groupings to their king, the trades lining the streets had no connection with the real economic and political groupings of the Scottish lower class. In order for them to have really been represented, there should have been rows of peasant farmers and textile workers, both domestic and factory. Likewise, artisans supplying basic services such as tailors, shoemakers and so on. Then there would have been need of the unions and benefit societies to have displayed their banners. And where were the religious sects which drew most of their support from the respectable working class and lower middle class? Consequently, we can see that the entire spectacle was a distorted vision of a social structure.<sup>130</sup> To further demonstrate the contempt with which the majority of the Scots were really held, they were manipulated so as to present the picture of a totally fictitious social order. No consideration for their physical needs was given. It is quite certain that those clinging to the rooftops were not drawn from the gentry. Not for the arti-



sans of Edinburgh was a special covered scaffold provided. Outsiders were welcomed into the city and 'allowed' to bivouac on Carlton Hill because they would spend money.

In this way, we can see that the interests of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy were, ultimately, not in contradiction. Political interests prevailed over economic but those concerns of the ruling class regarding their power were not divorced from their anxieties about their money. Both classes shared a belief in investment for profit it was just that one happened to be still in a position to dictate what was or was not legitimate exploitation and the pace and manner by which the majority of the population were to be manipulated.

Before giving consideration to the primary target group, we will attempt to assess the attitude of the Scots to the Progress. As has already been indicated, for the greater part of the population, the king's presence was largely irrelevant, because their economic status made them marginal as regards the state visit. This is not to ignore the ideological implications of the king's presence in the country on these groups, nor, indeed, to overlook the kind of picture of history the organizers were seeking to propagate. Nevertheless, such gains would be, typically, of a long-term nature and arise from a variety of sources, not solely George IV's visit. Hence, we shall focus on the spectators as representatives of the secondary target group.

As we saw in the first section, there was some division of opinion as to how enthusiastic the crowd really was. The Whigs focused on the controlled nature of the spectators' cheers inferring that such behaviour demonstrated a marked lack of enthusiasm. Other critical commentators suggested that the principle emotion was curiosity. Cockburn argued of the king's presence that 'in giving the

people a spectacle, at which they gazed exactly as they would have done at a Chinese Emperor with his gongs, elephants, and Mandarins, his visit accomplished all that could be reasonably anticipated'.<sup>131</sup> We shall see below what Cockburn and others believed had been achieved by George IV's visit. The Scotsman alleged that 'curiosity, unquestionably, has been the great operating principle in drawing company to Edinburgh'.<sup>132</sup> Even those who adopted a totally uncritical stance toward the event recognized that the onlookers behaved in a restrained manner. Walter Scott described how 'all stood perfectly firm, and until the King passed, quite silent, while his progress was marked by a rolling cheer which accompanied him from the palace to the castle, each body taking it up when he came in front of them'.<sup>133</sup> In contrast to the Whigs, Tory supporters of the status quo, typically, argued that such behaviour was a product of identification with the purpose of the event i.e. the spectators concurred in the claims of their rulers that all Scots shared the same economic and cultural interests.

However, before assessing the evidence regarding the opinions of the Scottish people, we shall turn to the matter of conventions of behaviour at public events. Witnesses of the Progress recognized two main features about the behaviour of the onlookers. In the first place, the spectators did not behave as the Irish had during the king's visit to Dublin the previous year. Hence, we read of the arrival at Leith that 'the King was welcomed, by the body of his Scottish subjects - not with delirious joy, as in Ireland - not with any thing like sycophancy or undue servility'.<sup>134</sup> The Morning Chronicle made the same point, stating that 'this mode of welcome, so different from what he met with last year in the sister island, was new to his Majesty'.<sup>135</sup> Second, observers claimed that the onlook-

ers had behaved in a manner which was typically Scottish. 'The good sense of the Scottish public has completely disappointed the hopes of the Ultra sycophants', alleged The Scotsman. 'There was nothing deserving the name of enthusiasm in their behaviour. Their reception of the King was precisely what it ought to have been. It had nothing in it of disrespect or neglect, or as little intemperate zeal, or of cringing and fawning servility'.<sup>136</sup> The Morning Chronicle was similarly impressed. 'Scotland has indeed well sustained, and if possible heightened her stayed, firm, manly, and intellectual character. In all her approaches to Majesty, she evinces that she regards her King as one who understands reason, should dispense justice, and be treated with the defence of the arm, and the reverence of the affections'.<sup>137</sup> Hence, we have to attempt to consider a particular response which was identified as nationally specific. In the following paragraphs, we hope to show that there was likely to have been an identifiable response but which was locally specific.

Socialization in any given social system involves the transfer -  
ence of conventions regarding responses in public to large-scale dramatizations. It would be beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss all the beliefs and practices associated with such behaviour in early nineteenth-century Scotland. However, in order to establish the accuracy of the claims made regarding the stance of the spectators so as to be able to make some assessment of the degree of their support for the event, we need to discuss the principle socializing institutions. It will be argued that, regardless of the actual degree of enthusiasm, two factors tended toward producing a more restrained response. We will then consider some features in the Scottish social structure which may have led to a critical stance on the part of spectators. Firstly, we should note the persistent concern

with 'rational' and 'reasonable' behaviour indicates how far ideas stemming from eighteenth-century philosophers of reason had entered the popular vocabulary. It has been frequently remarked how influential the new explanations of the social and economic world were in Scottish intellectual life.<sup>138</sup> Further, this body of liberal ideology had been transmitted into schools, both parochial and private.

Saunders describes the content of this ideology for he says,

by the opening of the 19th century the practice of this public establishment had become associated with a conscious 'parochial tradition' which was partly derived from inherited Reforming sentiment and partly from the economic experience of the 18th century. The parish school was expected to do at least two things: to diffuse national pride and presbyterian virtue and to give an education which, in a relatively rational world, would permit the able and ambitious to employ their gifts for their own and society's benefit.<sup>139</sup>

Although, as both Saunders and Smout have demonstrated, the ideology of the superiority of Scottish education was not matched by the facts after the beginning of the nineteenth century, the long tradition of rationalism and presbyterianism continued to be articulated in demands for moral guidance.<sup>140</sup> One of the reasons was the close tie between the churches and schools upon which almost all commentators have remarked. Thus MacLaren argued 'the importance of the Church's control over education can scarcely be over-estimated' and goes on to discuss the far-reaching implications of this bond. 'Evidence suggests that even in urban areas of utter "spiritual destitution", where the majority rarely or never attended church, a tenuous "connection" was retained with the working class largely through a form of education by which religious doctrines were "instilled into the minds of the young"'.<sup>141</sup>

We should note, though, that the influence of religious groups on education was not an isolated phenomena but part of a whole structure of domination. For, 'in Scotland, Presbyterianism enjoys an

authority unknown to any Protestant church in England, where the population is more thoroughly secularized'.<sup>142</sup> Additionally, Calvinist influence had revived as a result of urbanization and industrialization affecting both the Church of Scotland and the new non-conformist sects.<sup>143</sup> Of particular significance was their influence in Glasgow and the surrounding region. 'The total of dissenting Presbyterians in time became substantial: by 1820 the United Secession Church itself had 280 congregations, and its headquarters lay on the western side of the Central Belt of Scotland, perhaps especially in Glasgow where forty per cent of the population by 1810 were dissenters'.<sup>144</sup> Smout goes on to demonstrate the lack of interest in the more voluntaristic sects. 'Methodist organisation, however, never put down deep roots in Scotland. Most native groups who rebelled from Calvinist theology, like the Glasites with their stress on Christian love and their belief in the voluntary nature of religion, and the followers of Robert Haldane, failed to gain any large measure of popular support'.<sup>145</sup>

Both Smout and John Cunningham, an earlier historian of the Church, concur with respect to the influence of Presbyterianism on the behaviour of the Scots. Smout argues that even after adherents to Calvinism had decreased, 'the rest of the population were at least made conscious that they ought to feel guilty if they were not puritan in their hearts, which was not without influence on the general character of the Scottish people in the centuries that followed'.<sup>146</sup> Similarly, Cunningham states that

the Scotch have always been regarded as a peculiarly religious people. This is partly to be ascribed to the national character. There is a native earnestness in the Scottish mind. There is nothing frivolous about it. It is serious, almost solemn. Hence religious ideas can easily be engrafted upon it. But it is also partly to be ascribed to the national history. For the last three hundred years, the national history has been almost exclusively ecclesiastical.<sup>147</sup>



Unlike Cunningham, we should take the view that the 'national character' was a product of the influence of several socio-cultural institutions, the churches and sects being of particular importance. Furthermore, we should be sceptical of any claims of inherent qualities. Nevertheless, the main point stands, namely the restrained, almost severe stance in the behaviour of the Scots.

Other factors helped to create a more restrained population. T.M Devine has shown that, in contrast to other agricultural districts, the Lowlands was almost unique in its social stability.<sup>148</sup> He argues that continuation of paternalistic controls, persistence of a hierarchy of labour, identification by employees with their employers on the basis of what was perceived as a shared market situation and high employment contributed to the social stability of the region. We have here the example of one important community in the Edinburgh catchment area which was stable suggesting relatively un-extreme responses to events were typical. However, in focusing on the economic and ideological factors underpinning lower-class life in the target area, it is not suggested that these were the cause of the restrained behaviour of the onlookers. It would be impossible to locate individual motive. Rather we seek to indicate elements which may have contributed toward the attitude of the spectators. But, in conclusion, we should state that all the evidence suggests that Edinburgh and the surrounding area was atypical of Scotland in terms of the distribution of and relations between classes.

Turning now to the general reasons for the kind of response made to the Progress. It has already been argued that George IV was not a popular monarch and this was generally the case throughout the country. But the Scots were probably even less attached to the Hanoverian line than the English or, even, the Welsh. For many, the



memory of the effect of the bloody repression amongst family and friends must have lingered long after attachment to the Jacobite cause had passed, although whether the resentment was directed at the English or clan leaders is a moot point. Geographical factors have a part to play since success in implanting adherence to the Hanoverians would be likely to be undermined by the distance between London and Scotland. Likewise, both Edinburgh and Glasgow continued to act as national foci, the one political and the other economic. Scotland still had distinctive electoral and legal systems and separate religious life, whilst much investment for the growing industry was generated by Scottish businessmen from within each industry.<sup>149</sup>

The strength of regional loyalties and relative weakness of legitimisation of the state have already been noted. We should not, however, assume that nationalism was a significant factor for, as Webb states, 'nationalism was not prominent in Scottish political life between 1770 and 1850'.<sup>150</sup> Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that amongst certain groups, Scottish interests were more likely to be defined as different to those of England. In the main, this was a position adopted by the bourgeoisie and resulted from class-specific ideological and material interests. The Whigs were dominated by Edinburgh professionals, in particular the legal profession which was deeply committed to a more rational legal system that would also remove some of the power from the Lord Advocate and spread it wider within the profession. Similarly, many manufacturers not only shared the general laissez-faire belief system but had to struggle against a duty system which discriminated against Scots manufactures. It was demonstrably amongst the educated middle class that antiquarianism was greatest and, likewise, they constituted a large part of the novel-reading public to whom Scott directed many of his works.

In contrast, amongst the lower class, there seems to have been less importance placed on differences between the two countries. Webb remarks, until the mid-nineteenth century, 'the various radical organisations that arose in Scotland, although in general part of a British phenomena, did have separate organisations even though there were linkages with both English and Irish radical movements'.<sup>151</sup> But as Kellas and Fotheringham emphasize, 'Scottish working-class movements (unlike those in Ireland) have never seen themselves as operating within a Scottish (as distinct from a British) class system, nor have they sought to create one'.<sup>152</sup>

Finally, we should focus on the lowlanders' prejudice against the highlanders. As we have noted, reconciliation of the upper class of the highlanders with the English ruling class had already taken place. Likewise, intermarriage had established bonds between the Scottish and English landed interests. Yet, tensions persisted throughout the eighteenth century. Webb has argued that these were primarily of a cultural nature by 1822 and claims that 'the Lowland Presbyterians had a detestation of the "Irish" language of the North which served, in their view, to insulate the barbaric Highlander from both religion and progress'.<sup>153</sup> However, this view was likely to be reinforced by the arrival of large numbers of permanently settled unskilled labour from the north of the country suffering even more from educational disadvantages. Nevertheless, it would appear, as Webb argued, that George IV's visit marked the acceptance, if not actual embrace, by the Scots of the Celtic myth.<sup>154</sup>

Before closing this section, we shall give brief consideration to the primary target group. Given parliamentary conditions at this period, it would be hard to seriously contend that a spectacle whose chief activist was the king could be mounted solely to impress the

government with the power of the governing class. Only landowners were properly represented in parliament and, although they were not necessarily complacent about the threats from the bourgeoisie, no serious anxiety was entertained in 1822. Further, as has been suggested above, the claim that a major concern of the organizers was the various formal gestures to indicate full admittance of Jacobite landowners back in the ruling fold does not appear to be substantiated. Thus of three attempts to capitalize on the visit only two were successful and none were of great significance anyway. Scott petitioned the king for the restoration of the peerages and for the return of the Jacobite cannon, Mons Meg. Neither requests were acted upon until 1829. As for Sir Evan MacGregor's plea for the return of the Scone Stone to Holyrood, this went unsatisfied.<sup>155</sup> It would appear though that these three attempts to rectify certain small and relatively unimportant matters relating to government policy were made through the king, demonstrating that he was considered to have some useful influence. All of these appeals were concerned largely with symbols of power with mainly ideological bearing, something with which the monarch might be expected to have some sympathy given his own diminishing influence in political fields.

One other explanation for approaches to the government via the king is possible. The landed interest were committed to constraints on the power of the Crown except in the area of displays of symbolic power. The applications made by Scott and his associates to the king were precisely concerned with ideological matters, thus tending to support and legitimate the apolitical, patriarchal role of the monarchy. Similarly, integration of the highlanders was now largely an ideological matter making the king's intervention on their behalf most apposite. There would be some logic to having the sym-

bolic figurehead of the British state intervene on the question of ceremonial matters. Furthermore, it is known that George IV was personally attached to the Highland and Stewart myths as he could well be given the security of the Hanoverian line. Lockhart says unequivocally, that George IV was playing 'Prince Charlie' and there is plenty of proof in his adoption of the Stewart tartan and his letting it be known that he had a considerable collection of Stewart relics.<sup>156</sup>

Additionally, a few years later, the king raised a monument to the last Stewarts in Rome.<sup>157</sup> Much of the form the pageantry took was justified on the basis of George IV's known attachment to the highlanders. His toast at the Civic Banquet was to 'The Chieftains and Clans of Scotland, and prosperity to the Land of Cakes' which, as Lockhart contemptuously wrote, 'distinctly conveyed his Majesty's impression that the marking and crowning glory of Scotland consisted in the Highland clans and their chieftains'.<sup>158</sup>

Scott was firmly convinced that the folksy element was what would appeal to the honoured guest. He wrote to John Macleod, a landowner, urging him to 'come and bring half-a-dozen or half-a-score of Clansmen, so as to look like an Island Chief as you are. Highlanders are what he will like best to see, and the masquerade of the Celtic Society will not do without some of the real stuff to bear it out'.<sup>159</sup>

It seems then that some consideration of the king's taste may be found in the emphasis of the Progress. But the nature of this concern is clear when the number and seriousness of requests made to him are considered in conjunction with the limited consultation made of his wishes regarding the staging of the Progress and other public events.

IV

In the following section, after examining the imagery of the Progress, we shall be summarizing the remarks scattered through the previous sections on the ideology embodied in it. Then we shall seek to place the ideology in the tradition from which it arose.

The overall theme running through the spectacle was the ancient kingdom of Scotland and the dramatization of a social structure which, as we will suggest, had never existed. Examination of the Progress shows that it was entirely dominated by state officials whose posts were, by then, largely ceremonial. As in former times, they were appointees of the monarchy, and the offices were, typically, hereditary and held by peers, usually the senior male member of the line. In certain cases, a substitute would be acceptable if, for example, the peer was a minor or very aged. Not only were the actual officers peers, but their attendants were also members of the aristocracy or gentry. Their costumes were all drawn from periods no later than the early seventeenth century and predominantly from the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Likewise, the honours of Scotland had been gradually constructed over a similar period as had the weaponry, such as maces, bows and dirks.

It was claimed that the procession was intended to call up 'as exactly as might be, the time-hallowed observance of "the Riding of Parliament"'.<sup>160</sup> This ancient annual function had not been performed since the Act of Union in 1707 when, until that time, its purpose had been for the Scottish MPs to convey the king and High Commissioners of Scotland from Holyrood to Parliament House and back. On arrival at Parliament House, they were received by the Lord High Constable. The MPs were accompanied by burgh and shire officers, all the Scottish noblemen, Archbishops and Bishops and guarded by

troops. The onlookers were separated from the procession by the Trained Bands of Edinburgh, Lord High Constable's Guards and Earl Marischal's Guards. Quite obviously, the Progress in 1822 did not match this description nor, more importantly, could it be legitimately argued that the staging was 'as exactly as might be' for, although there was by 1822 no Parliament House in Edinburgh, the procession need not have excluded the burgh officials or church functionaries. Furthermore the Constable's and Marischal's Guards could have easily fulfilled their ancient functions whilst the modern equivalents of the Trained Bands, the Yeomanry, were also available. Perhaps most significantly the climax and, therefore, purpose of the event had changed for, in former times, the cavalcade had finished behind close doors where ceremonies reasserting the sovereignty of Scotland as well as symbolizing the power of the dominant class had taken place. But for the restaging because the country was no longer a kingdom, the king was divorced from symbols of sovereignty and placed on a spot with no direct political connection. As for the church and government (central and local) officials, they were given completely passive roles and, in fact, their power was symbolically diminished so that, instead of appearing as activists, they were regraded as participants, separated from the spectators merely by dress. Further, an important group, namely the MPs, was excluded altogether. It might be argued that this was because the procession was no longer 'riding to Parliament' but this still would not explain why they could not be present as participants.<sup>161</sup>

As we saw earlier, the military content of the event had been reduced as much as possible and, therefore, the state guards had been almost entirely substituted by the trades. Furthermore, as a result of changes in the distribution of power between the monarchy and go-



vernment, the Lord High Constable and Earl Marischal's Guards' responsibilities had been greatly diminished. Consequently, their bodies, sphere of responsibilities and weaponry were archaic in form. Clearly, an amateur guard with no formal police powers, bearing arms dating from several centuries earlier were entirely inadequate to either protect the king or maintain order along the route. Thus the army and volunteers, previously unrepresented groups in the procession itself, were introduced. They continued to act as policing units along the route although they now shared that function with the trades and complicit householders.

Given that in the majority of respects, the Progress did not match the original model, we will have to look elsewhere for the source. As we saw earlier, the organizers of the event were the gentry and aristocracy and so it is no surprise to find that the entire cavalcade was designed as a hymn to their greatness. In order to make them central, an imaginary social structure had to be dramatized which came prior to any parliamentary power or, indeed, any other institution which stood between them and 'the people'. Thus the walking guard e.g. Archers and Celtic Guard, whatever their social rank, were clad in tartan signifying the ancient Scottish national dress. The next most important group were the trades, hence the great emphasis placed on their nearness to the king and the impression made upon him by their good behaviour.<sup>162</sup> Their divisions arose from the guilds founded in the fourteenth century.

The historical recreation embodied in this ceremony sought to generalize a view of Scotland's past drawn from an inaccurate, not to say tendentious, view of urban and highland history. It suggested that the peerage alias the chieftains and the 'people' i.e. fighting clan members, supported by the urban guildsmen created Scot-

land. Apart from being wrong, it also inferred more generally, an extremely static view of social developments. The sources of this myth are not easily explained.<sup>163</sup> Nostalgia for a past where change came relatively slowly may well have been a contributory factor.

Geographical and social mobility whilst possibly attractive was still a complex experience and for many the moves were extremely unpleasant. As regards the urban aspect of the model, one likely explanation for its attractiveness lies in the presence of large numbers of artisans and tradesmen associated with traditional skills and gathered into small businesses. Many of the companies were not so wealthy that they attracted bankers and other members of the upper bourgeoisie at that time. Thus the cultural dominance of Edinburgh, enhanced by the king's limiting of his visit to Scotland to the capital, may well have combined with the conspicuous artisan mode of production still dominant in the city.

There are a number of reasons why the Highlands came to the favourable attention of the lowland upper and middle classes at the end of the eighteenth century. 'Industrial demand for wool and the need for ever large quantities of mutton to help feed the burgeoning populations of southern towns; these made the commercial exploitation of the Highlands' pastoral resources almost as welcome to southern industrialists as to Highland landowners'.<sup>164</sup> Furthermore, the highland estates themselves began to come onto the market at about the same time. As Gray remarks, 'perplexed by debts, racked by competing demands for scarce funds, and insecurely dependent on an uncertain agricultural surplus, many of the landlords, the historic aristocracy of the clans, were forced to sell their patrimonies in this first half of the nineteenth century'.<sup>165</sup> The completely fantasy nature of the model of highland social relations was further

undermined by the realities of the clearances and kelp production. Bonds between landowner and peasant were very weak since, after the clearances, crofters wanted to leave but were prevented for 'in the years around 1800', explains Hunter, 'a steadily growing number of landlords began to drastically reorganize their estates. Old tenures were ended and the scattered strips or rigs of arable land which were the basis of the joint farming economy were divided into separate holdings, each occupied by a single tenant or crofter'.<sup>166</sup> The remaining people were removed into coastal townships where 'as fishermen, and still more as kelpers, crofters were thus of vital importance to their landlords. And as was demonstrated by the events surrounding the passing of the Passenger Act of 1803, Highland proprietors were prepared to go to almost any lengths to retain their tenancies on their estates'.<sup>167</sup> But by the 1820s the fishing, kelping and cattle industries were dying and the landlords were desperate to get rid of their devoted followers. For as even Smout, who is somewhat sympathetic to the landowners, will admit, the highland landlords 'seem to have creamed off a larger proportion of the total profits into their own hands than did the Lowland lairds with the Lothian or Ayrshire farmers'.<sup>168</sup>

Another example of the interest of lowland capital in the Highlands may be found in the spread of the popularity of tartan, production of which was a response by Scottish manufacturers to army contracts. The 'great tartan myth' seems to have been engendered by the large-scale recruitment of Highland lower-class men into the British army. Thus the personnel provided by the north were dressed in the uniforms produced by the expanding textile trade, mainly of the west of Scotland. In 1713, the Royal Company of Archers had adopted tartan as part of their uniform and the first Highland regi-

ment, the Black Watch, was raised in 1729.<sup>169</sup> Hence the dress of subordinates was already being incorporated by their superiors even before the post-'45 proscription which banned the bearing of arms and men and boys wearing the plaid, kilt, trews and shoulder belt i.e. it forbade Jacobite supporters their 'military uniform'. The Act was really directed at the clansmen and not their leaders for between the proscription and its repeal in 1782, portraits of tartan beclad aristocrats and gentry were painted. Furthermore, after 1745, battalions of the line, militia, fencibles and volunteers increased so that by 1815, there were over one hundred.<sup>170</sup> J.T Dunbar, the critical historian of the fad for tartan has recorded the history of its adoption by 'clans'. He argued that tartan became a fashion item for the middle and upper classes in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The attachment of tartans to a particular family was a phenomenon of the same period and lacked the ancient history subsequently claimed for it. A nineteenth century product of this revival was the systematic recording of 'clan' tartans by artists and production of 'tartan' books. This move was furthered by the change in production of textiles. After the repeal, there was some resumption of traditional dress and tartan by the lower class but, in the main, even in the Highlands, home produced cloth was no longer used. Much of the tartan produced by factory or domestic outworkers in the towns and surrounding areas was exported to the Americas and supplied to the British army.<sup>171</sup> Thus 'by 1822 the patterns known by number are in the hundreds'.<sup>172</sup> Their popularity being largely a side-effect, as is so often the case, of military policy.<sup>173</sup> Thus tartan had been incorporated by the Scottish ruling class as a symbol of the differences between their interests and those of the English aristocracy. Its importance was recognized

for authorization of claims by clans to wear specific tartans now came under the jurisdiction of the Lyon Court, whose 'king', a member of the aristocracy, played a prominent part organizing and acting in the Progress.

We have as yet to remark upon the role of the military and the king in the Progress. The plan of the spectacle meant that the persons symbolizing and bearing tokens of the ancient Scottish kingdom were preceded and followed by the Scots Greys, Midlothian Yeomanry and the carriage bearing the king clad in the contemporary dress of a Field Marshal. Their modern dress was, in many respects, crucial to the spectacle for without this distancing device, the status of the central element might have been equivocal. The presence of the soldiers and their king obviously legitimated the pleas of the aristocracy, likewise framing by the contemporary element ensured that the remainder was perceived as history or even mythology. Finally, by following the honours of Scotland and, therefore, the aristocracy, the king was given an ambiguous position. From one point of view, it could be argued that he was the climax of the procession but an alternative reading would be that he was reverencing the honours/peerage. One important consequence of the distancing was, as Scott and his aides recognized, that there was no real danger of a major rejection by the onlookers; authentic accounts of a past, so distant, being difficult to acquire at the best of times.

Nevertheless, the king did come into his own once he had left the procession and it is clear that his separation from the rest of the party to finally appear quite alone on the half-moon battery was of great significance. As will be apparent, this was yet another innovation for the benefit of early nineteenth century onlookers and was designed solely to enhance the stature of George IV. It can be

no accident that on the 'people's day', the monarch was displayed to them standing over and above them on the summit of the highest point in the city centre. The half-moon battery overlooked both the road up which the cavalcade had travelled and was also visible to those who stood along the route upon which the king rode back to Holyrood. Standing alone, he was father figure and epitomy of all the Paternal qualities the ruling class sought to perpetuate. For to them, to be fatherly was to establish mysterious bonds whose explication was only open to the favoured few and rested on something known as the natural need to lavish wealth on those who personified the power of the nation. Thus it was reported that 'there is something patriarchal in this meeting of king and people, almost too pure and simple for the artificial refinement of modern times' for, George stood on the half-moon battery, the anonymous letter writer recorded, 'the British Monarch, the father of his people, blessing and blessed by his exulting children'.<sup>174</sup> Likewise, the same writer argued that 'the sublimest feature of the late visit' was the realization that 'Britain's king is Britain - a magnificent personification of Britain's wealth and power, of her light and virtue, nay of her freedom'.<sup>175</sup>

Turning now to a statement of the ideological content of the event, we can do no better than take up some of the arguments made by contemporaries in support of the spectacle. The anonymous letter writer put forward arguments in both the political and moral spheres. Firstly, in response to the suggestion that the ceremonies were 'empty shadows and childish pageants', he said 'there is patriotism, and loyalty, good taste, right feeling and sound principle, without which these scenes, gorgeous, picturesque and romantic, externally, as they were' would mean nothing.<sup>176</sup> Evidence for the existence of



these attitudes was less important than the implication that to create senses of patriotism and loyalty was the purpose of the exercise. Secondly, the writer pointed to the close bond over time whereby the ceremony used before the Union was recreated by the heirs of the same officials who 'all combined to form a spectacle, not of mere show, but which spoke home to some of our proudest national feelings'.<sup>177</sup> As we have already seen, the ceremony was not a reconstruction but a tendentious creation designed to establish a coherent and depoliticized Scottish history. Thus 'national feelings' can be seen as identification with the interests of the Scottish aristocracy. 'Right feeling' may be taken to be acceptance of the status quo, in other words, all those qualities necessary to prevent the lower class claiming a share in the property of the country the ownership of which rested almost entirely in the hands of landowners. The Scottish character, according to the writer, when at its highest ethical point, naturally embraced all the good qualities he outlined, such as stolid acceptance of fate, obsession with religious minutiae and other elements tending toward the paralysis of the majority of the people in the face of persistent exploitation. Fortunately, or unfortunately for the writer, the Scots frequently failed to reach the goal set for them.

However, nationalism did not exclude the king, as the structure of the Progress indicated, rather his position in it, namely riding behind the display of the honours of Scotland, demonstrated that he was at one and the same time, the climax of the parade and, as its framer, not of it. Mudie recognized the value of the image of the king as a figure above party and personal influences. It was the concept of a monarch whose power was restricted to the symbolic but who, nonetheless, had real power; since no one else could

play his role, he was indispensable. Nationalism was defined with reference to the king but was equated with his ideological impact. Hence Mudie claimed nationalism consisted of the act of the king witnessing 'thousands and thousands of hats waved in the air by a solid mass of people, whose numbers defied all power of calculation'; summing up the sight as 'the most picturesque and most national feature in the whole spectacle'.<sup>178</sup>

The historical vision recreated in the ceremony demonstrated that the only significant actors were the aristocracy and hence implied future success required that their interests should be preserved and they should be permitted, more encouraged, to initiate activity. As a result, those events where the aristocracy appeared in a light detrimental to their interests were eliminated or changed. In particular, their role as investors in Scotland's capitalism was excluded as were all references to the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Likewise, the aristocracy's role as landowners was contracted in favour of a presentation focusing on the military unit of the clan. Further, to be nationalistic meant the adoption of a ceremonial dress which was not a distillation of material fact but actually an ideological product of the interests whose real power it effectively shielded. Tartan, in particular, but also the rag-bag sported by the activists had meaning only insofar as they presented a distorted view of a social structure rendered unjust by the machinations of many of the families whose representatives rode in the parade. By 1822, patriotism could only mean the willing dispersal by thousands of Scots to different parts of Scotland or overseas without complaint, acceptance of low wages and gross living and working conditions. They could not even join the armed forces for, after the war, most of them had been discharg-

ed into a labour market suffering the usual post-war contraction.

In chapter two, it was suggested that, particularly after the end of the war, attempts were made by the aristocracy as part of a general strategy to strengthen the monarchy. In part it was a response to the problems arising from the Prince Regent's unpopularity but more generally the move was consistent with others made to strengthen paternalistic institutions. As we have seen, the king was presented as a national symbol and a father figure, loved for his human qualities as much as for the power he embodied. It seems likely that the hope was to satisfy all three social classes who could respond differently to this model according to how they saw their interests. For the middle class, the belief that the crown was a separate, independent institution was essential if they were to be persuaded that the use of constitutional methods was the best way whereby their aims could be achieved. In other words, they might be satisfied with their slight parliamentary and local authority representation, if the notion prevailed that the monarch would act in a disinterested manner. Similarly, the king's identification with the quasi-nationalist movement would be inferred as a blessing on the endeavours of the class who were increasingly identifying themselves as Scotland.

Many sections of the lower class found themselves in paternalistic relations with the upper class as a result of either good or bad economic conditions. Thus in the lowlands, agricultural workers were housed in tied villages but, in contrast, the situation in the highlands was pitiful. As Gray remarks, 'while it had always been recognised that a landlord was responsible for guarding his tenants against starvation - by distribution of grain on a credit basis - the increasing cash stringency made this more of a purely charitable

and less of a business deal'.<sup>179</sup> The people were, therefore, tied in their poverty to the landowner. The war, too, had played a significant part, especially in the highlands, where recruitment was intermixed with the military traditions of the clans. Thus the general tendency we have noted in chapter two to promote military forms in spectacle was given an extra nationalistic boost in Scotland amongst the lower class.

Within the governing class, attachment to a Hanoverian monarch was a matter of self-interest but reawakening of pride in Scotland's past greatness was important, particularly if the gentry were to go out and combat unrest, control the thrusting bourgeoisie and, at the same time, rationalize investment in their property. Belief that Westminster would support these efforts was strengthened through seeing the king so openly ally himself with them. It was amongst the ruling class that attachment to Burke's organicist ideology needed to be strongest for, until the king's visit, there was scant respect, let alone reverence, displayed for the history of the ancient kingdom by most large landholders. Thus they were urged, via the spectacle, into wholehearted unity behind the king as the image of patriarchal rule in order to facilitate the changes, to be made in their own time, to a more orderly and profitable mode of exploitation.

The ideology symbolized by the spectacle was almost the pure form of paternalism as articulated by Burke and his followers. It was even by the standards of 1822 extremely reactionary since power was, in effect, engrossed by the aristocracy whereas, in fact, to some extent the upper bourgeoisie had made significant advances politically as well as economically. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of the ruling class, the presentation did make one augmentation of this position for acquiescence in this mode of showing the king as an

apolitical figurehead was important for their future well-being contrast, deference to any part of this ideology could only damage the interests of the middle and lower classes. They were not accorded any legitimate power and vast sections were excluded from the dramatization. What purported to be Scottish history was a nonsensical jumble and the reappearance of the aristocracy glued to the honours of Scotland after escaping to the south one hundred years previously was a gross misrepresentation of the part they played.

V

In this section, we will summarize and comment upon the arguments regarding the legitimization of the notion of rule dramatized within the Progress. Firstly, it will be argued that a particular form of charisma was operative. As Weber has remarked, routinized charisma is of particular importance for parliamentary kingship in the United Kingdom. The king's 'mere existence and his charisma guarantee the legitimacy of the existing social and property order, since decisions are carried out "in his name"'.<sup>180</sup> As a result, numerous offices are devoted to 'the enshrinement of the deified, patrimonial sovereign'.<sup>181</sup> There were many amongst all classes who adhered to this picture of a constitutional monarch and would, therefore, have accorded a similar legitimacy to the organizers' argument that the purpose of the Progress was to display George IV to his Scottish subjects.

As Weber makes clear, there is no contradiction between the fact of a constitutional monarch and charisma. Firstly, as he observed, routinization is a means whereby the power established by the original charismatic hero 'continues to work in favour of all those whose power and possession is guaranteed by that sovereign power, and who

thus depend upon the continued existence of such power'.<sup>182</sup> Hence, as we saw in the earlier discussion of the king's interests where conflicts between classes took place, he allied himself firmly with the ruling class for his wealth and personal security depended upon the maintenance of the status quo. However, it was because the landed interest were essentially on the decline that any opportunity to enhance the charismatic element in the king's power would be taken since, in the main, the monarch had been long ago stripped of any capacity he had to act independently of the dominant class. Whatever the details, in a constitutional monarchy, such as had been established in this country, the theory that the king must rule but not govern prevailed. As we saw, ideologues vigorously emphasized the virtues of this model. The king, they argued, was and should be quite uninvolved in decisions regarding Scotland and, even more importantly, remain pointedly separated from anything which might indicate party interest. The portrayal of this position was central to the spectacle during which the king was kept separate and then elevated beyond the cavalcade.

Nevertheless, power-sharing of one kind was advanced and it was this particular aspect of charismatic monarchy that was emphasized. For although authority arising from prerogative was eschewed by ideologues, power-sharing on the basis of influence was strongly advocated. Hence, there was a call for the king to gaze upon Scotland's 'harvest fields and fleece-covered mountains, on her engines moving a world, on the intellectual strength, the moral monuments, the social joys, the charities, the worship of so many millions'.<sup>183</sup> As Weber noted such power could only function as a result of personal ability or social influence.<sup>184</sup> One part of the spectacle was, therefore, devoted to boosting the image of the king, in the eyes of



the target group, as a man of personal ability. Consequently the detailed accounts of the spectators' response to the king involved emphasizing not merely their attachment to the crown as an institution but to the particular monarch. It was argued that George IV's claim to rule was universally accepted by his subjects; that was, according to Mudie, because the Scots 'recognize not only the most powerful monarch on the globe, but the most accomplished gentleman of empire'. The king's visit to Scotland 'has been dictated by the spirit of the purest benevolence and affection' on his part whilst he would be greeted by the Scots as 'the first of his race whose title to the throne has been altogether free from objection and cavil, and which men of the most discordant principles concur in supporting' because 'his rights are universally acknowledged'.<sup>185</sup> The social influence of the king was, as we saw earlier, taken quite seriously in certain spheres.

In successfully reviving the personal charisma of the monarchy, a secondary effect was affirmation of the legitimacy of the mode of rule portrayed in the Progress. For, in essence, both rested on the form of traditionalism named by Weber, decentralized patrimonialism. Traditionalism is marked by the sanctity of the past, personal loyalty and traditional status. Patrimonialism is a form of traditional authority marked by 'the involvement of a purely personal administrative staff, especially a military force under the control of the chief'.<sup>186</sup> Hence the model for which legitimacy was sought was one of the peerage representing the people on whose behalf they negotiated with the king. Such a stance patently ignored the fact of the existence of the parliamentary structure but it was quite consistent with the main point of decentralized patrimonialism, namely continued support for the private appropriation of economic and pol-

itical advantages by the minority. Such a model does not exclude high levels of development in the economy, for example, just the kind of urban communes of artisans portrayed in the spectacle but however legitimate the concept of patrimonial rule may have been considered by onlookers of all classes, it was quite incapable of encompassing the problems of industrial capitalism. However, as the key element in the event was also what Weber termed the 'decisive point' about this mode of legitimation namely 'the fact that the members of the privileged group exercise independent rights', such contradictions were not a major concern of the organizers.<sup>187</sup> In point of fact, by equating the independence of the aristocracy with Scottish nationalism, the exclusion of the bourgeoisie was evident to very few. Adulation of the honours of Scotland, the descendant of the Bruce was the justification for what was, in fact, a symbolic display of the power of the ruling class.

There was then a parallel between the mode of legitimation and the ideological content of the Progress. Both were archaic, neo-feudal statements. The patriarchal imagery could be responded to by all classes. At one level, all the people could accept that they were infants of the British king thus reducing any claim to constitutional 'adulthood' to the ridiculous and disloyal. Any tampering with the political structure would be, therefore, a personal insult to the king who was so deeply involved with the well-being of his subjects. Nevertheless, as we have seen, there had been numerous successful attempts by the governing class to dispossess the majority of the Scottish people of their rights. Security of tenure was not available to tenants who rented on a yearly basis. Further, the spectacle put any attempts at autonomous organization by the subordinate class beyond the pale on the basis of this being disloyal

unnecessary and probably unnatural given that adulation of the king was demonstrably part of 'human nature'. It was argued that a signal mark of the patriotism of the aristocracy was that they were prepared to spend time showing the regalia to their open-mouthed subordinates. Apparently, though, the aristocracy were less in need of their king's guidance since, as organizers and activists, they gained much reflected glory from adulation of the monarch. The claim would, therefore, effectively mean that there were levels of infantilism amongst the Scots.

The complete picture of participants and activists gave an image of stability, a cosy little town where disagreements could be resolved between neighbours and nothing more startling than an unexpected death occurred. It was inferred that much was worth sacrificing for these qualities although it was no more an accurate picture of the Middle Ages than the Industrial Revolution. In order to gain acquiescence to this view the picturesque trades organizations, the chivalrous aristocracy and the brave highland warriors were put forward for applause. Moreover, by taking a model from the past, a picture of a social order with totality and universality could be drawn. No reference was made to the developing capitalist industries thus excluding them from legitimation. Yet increasing numbers of Scots from all classes were involved in them and the resulting social and cultural developments in their lives. The exclusion of representatives from these enterprises was a mark of the ambiguity of the ruling class regarding their investments and also an indication of the kind of interests that they had to which more consideration will be given in the following section. One thing was certain, the dominant class had no desire to strengthen any class consciousness amongst either the middle or lower class and had out-

workers, factory workers or manufacturers been permitted to present themselves in a body in the Progress, it could only have damaged the picture of a stable community based on attachment. Yet some degree of legitimacy had to be extended to the bourgeoisie who appeared as participants in the stands set aside for burgh officials and professionals.

Another important aspect was the exclusion of references to duty and obligation since a society with a free-market economy and individualist ethic could not generate attitudes of this kind. Likewise, where they existed, such views merely served to interfere with the profitable exploitation of resources. Rather the emphasis in the press and also in the ballads printed for street sale always spoke of affection freely given.<sup>188</sup> It was the real economic conditions plus the uncertainty of the onlookers response to both king and aristocracy that generated a spectacle centred upon a plea. The organizers were not anxious to establish anything other than an ideological portrait of pre-industrial Scotland. The spectacle articulated a preference for the freely given approbation of a people committed to the status quo without coercion of a legal or military kind. Because calls for autonomy lay at the core of the event, it meant, in effect, a defence of the interests of the ruling class since no other freedoms were dramatized. However, as the nobility was presented as the essence of Scotland, it followed that the security of the one was the same as the other.

Legitimation of claims for some recognition of Scotland's peculiar requirements was, therefore, an implicit admission that the balance of power represented in the status quo was justified. Nationalism being largely irrelevant in political terms, it was a safe means whereby class consciousness and the residue of north/south co-

flict could be dispersed. Elevation of the most economically backward group in Scotland to that of model for the rest of the country was but one mark of the total lack of seriousness with which claims regarding Scotland's difference were taken by the organizers. What does seem to have concerned them was the issue of wealth versus hereditary in the distribution of power in the upper class. The whole display was devoted to expressing the power of landed interests. As we saw, any member of the aristocracy could and was encouraged to join any one of the societies participating in the event. The public display of arms by a non-military group was a very important status indicator for, by the nineteenth century, only those in positions of power or dependant on such persons were free to bear arms. Thus the wealthy and the highlanders were made demonstrably superior - the one because they were the most patriotic element and the other representing the true Scots, i.e. the greatest appropriators and the most exploited. Secondly, the nobility's jealousy in connection with the distribution of the prominent roles in the display was real enough. George IV had to act as umpire on at least two issues respecting the Progress; he settled that the right of carrying the sceptre was that of the Earldom of Sutherland and the Duke of Hamilton won the right to bear the crown against Lord Douglas.<sup>189</sup> The prestige attached to birth was the basis on which such matters were decided and hereditary rights within the aristocracy at least continued to be the most legitimate force.

## VI

As we have seen, the Progress of the Regalia was staged by and in the interests of the aristocracy and gentry and so, in this, the final section, it will be no surprise to find that their material well-

being was high on the agenda. Much of their personal expenditure was borne by taxpayers, the bulk of whom were the lower class, already paying disproportionately high amounts. Seating was provided for many at a heavily subsidized rate at the Progress and entertainments and opportunities to display personal wealth were furnished gratis at the Levée and Drawing Room. Naturally, the cost was considerable, especially for the gentry who had to provide themselves with court dress and all the upper class had to pay high rental charges for appropriate accommodation for themselves and their horses. Nevertheless, the rewards for this outlay were considerable. Firstly, they gained release from most of the formal restrictions placed on them as a result of the Jacobite risings. Secondly, there were the numerous status indicators distributed during and for some years after the event. Thus during the Civic Banquet, William Arbuthnot, Lord Provost of Edinburgh was created a baronet.<sup>190</sup> Adam Ferguson was appointed Keeper of the Regalia and additionally he and Henry Raeburn, the portrait painter, were both knighted.<sup>191</sup> Then in 1824, after the election of the Duke of Montrose to the Captain-Generalship of the Company of Archers 'out of a sense of gratitude to his Majesty for the honour he had done the Royal Company in appointing them his Bodyguard, and as a mark of their unfeigned respect for him', the king's agreement for the appointment was sought and received.<sup>192</sup> Further, 'a circumstance which has materially contributed to the successful maintenance and prosperity of the Company and which greatly added to the honour and respect in which it was already held' was the granting by the king of the request to authorize a Court dress to be worn by members of the Royal Company and his presentation to the Captain-General of a gold stick of office.<sup>193</sup>

In the third place, notwithstanding Cockburn and other Whigs'



claims, the event did produce important benefits, both short and long-term to which we shall now give some consideration. Bearing in mind that the point of the king's visit and, in particular, the Progress was to enhance the position of the upper class via the further legitimization of the whole Celtic movement, it will be shown that the visit was an overwhelming success. The spectacle was not designed by the organizers as a means of making money (though it was remarkably profitable, as we shall see below) but rather to secure ideological points regarding the maintenance of rule by the dominant class. In the short-term, the king's popularity was put to immediate use by, amongst others, the owners of the Caledonian Canal, for, in order to quieten the critics of the vastly increased costs in building the canal, its opening in October was designed to commemorate the king's visit to Scotland.<sup>194</sup> In the following paragraphs, we shall be focusing on the deferred implications of the visit and will begin by considering the response by the British government/English ruling class before examining those of the lower and middle classes.

Although we have emphasized the disabilities suffered by the Scottish peerage, in many respects, they were in a more favourable position as regards the power of the state to intervene in their affairs.

In comparison with the burdens placed on an English estate, Scottish land was let off lightly; the same process of time, convention and inertia which had arrested the development of local government had limited its burdens. The Land Tax was based on an assessment of the reign of Charles II...There was in Scotland no payment of tithes in kind: they could be valued, and when valued, did not afterwards increase. The heritors had certain parochial obligations but they were legally permitted to transfer half the allotted sum to their tenants...a regular assessment for poor relief was still unusual in Scotland... the special obligations falling on land were antiquated and out of relation to rising land values...national taxes were paid by landholders as by other classes but the fiscal measures devised to meet the post-war crisis were designed for their relief.<sup>195</sup>

This policy of special relief for the Scottish ruling class continued for, in contrast to England where reform of local government involved extension of the franchise to all rate-payers, in Scotland, burgh elections were confined to parliamentary voters. Perhaps the most obvious benefit was the assisted emigration scheme whereby the cost of removing the now unwanted highlanders was born by the British government and the unfortunate emigrants. The principal reason for this continued relief seems to be the greater dominance, relative to England, of landed interests as compared to manufacturing and the greater regional identification of the population. This situation left the traditional upper class i.e. landed proprietors and financiers enriched by mercantile and banking enterprises, in a stronger position. Furthermore, in the train of their monarch, the English were busily adopting Celtic ways. For example, in 1828, an English baron, William Ward, bought the Glengarry estate and proceeded to wear a kilt and plaid and hold highland gatherings.<sup>196</sup>

Scotland's ruling class seems to have felt more confident than their English counterparts, although Jacobinism was stronger in the northern kingdom and Brock argues support amongst the lowland working class for the reform bill was the most significant after that shown in campaign-leading Birmingham.<sup>197</sup> The reason appears to lie in the greater cohesiveness of Scottish society in conjunction with the restriction of conflict to certain regions. The anomie which underpinned much English lower-class protest was less of an issue in Scotland where presbyterianism still provided a strong moral force. Likewise, the higher numbers of Catholics whose moral guidance lay with the church may also have played a part. Protest was a feature of lower class life but again a difference may be detected for collectivism was much more significant in Scotland, where subsistence

was still an economic force, voluntarist teaching was resisted and communities were more isolated. Christopher Harvie has described the sources of the strength of 'traditional' interests.

Industrialisation, in fact, had its roots in the land. Between 1745 and 1845 Scottish lairds pursued a conscious strategy of creating new villages - some 150 in all - which would provide hand-work or even factory industrial employment for a rising population while also allowing agricultural modernisation. In other words, the early stages of economic growth were a 'controlled' process of what has been called 'proto-industrialisation' in which the productivity of society was increased while traditional, social relationships remained.<sup>198</sup>

Consequently, when compared with England, we find a political movement which had achieved the same degree of radicalization running alongside a more overtly politicized religious movement. Nevertheless, it was many of these differences which were articulated in the Progress after they had been transformed into a shape which entirely favoured the upper class. It was because the ideology offered an explanation of real differences couched in terms beneficial to the ruling class that it continued to have such cash value.

We shall turn now to an examination of how the ruling class over a period of time repeatedly demonstrated its attachment to neo-feudalism as well as remarking on its acceptance by other classes. Beginning then with a quotation from The Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany which summarizes the hopes pinned by the organizers on the Progress, since, for all the very real material benefits accruing to the upper class from the visit, it was the beginning of an insidious spread of loyalty toward the king and all that he stood for which was sought. The spectators, as representatives of the target group, were to take up and dissipate the message throughout Scotland.

The thousands who have flocked to the capital, from every corner of the Land o' Cakes, to hail the arrival of their Sovereign, will repair to their respective homes, with their hearts expanded and enlarged by an additional infusion of loyal principle, to transfuse into the minds of those less fortunate than themselves, the sentiments which they have imbibed, or the enthusiasm which has been awakened in their minds. The day in which they first beheld their Sovereign, will, indeed, be dies cretâ notandus; and as it recurs, in succeeding years will freshen and revive their feelings of loyalty. 199

Moreover, the ideology dramatized during George IV's stay in Edinburgh continued to be central to the strategy of Scottish proprietors.

'In the tradition of the 1822 visit', Jack Brand declares, on her first journey to Scotland,

Victoria was met by the gentry and chiefs and a charade of traditional Scottish life was prepared for her amusement. She travelled from country house to castle where the estate staffs and farm servants would be called out and drilled to appear as a Highland guard. Pipers piped, dancers danced, deer were slaughtered, quaint customs and even quainter people were observed and the Queen and Albert were charmed. 200

An interesting example of the connection between the preference for a patriarchal model emphasizing the benefits of hereditary and the mode of production is the question of entail cited by Saunders.

Although it was used to preserve estates throughout the United Kingdom, in Scotland it was employed to an even greater degree and was, moreover, both more complex and more restrictive. 201

The interests supporting this system which helped prevent the release of capital into the economy as well as rationalization of agriculture were clearly immense and assisted in the legitimization of sentimentalization of attachment to land and traditional modes and relations of production. Indirectly, we can see how secure the Scottish ruling class felt and how this self-assurance was translated into commercialization of Celticism and the tartan myth. Much was part of the familiar pattern of exploitation of estates for recreational purposes but in Scotland this was pursued both more consistently and with the ad-

dition of the more overt incorporation of lower class culture. Thus when in England, shooting received a setback as a result, according to F.M.L Thompson, of poor game seasons and the political and social fears of the landed proprietors, in Scotland, as the figures for licensed gamekeepers given below demonstrate, it was steadily increasing.

	<u>England</u>	<u>Scotland</u> <sup>202</sup>
1836	2,851	608
1853	1,452	774
1868	3,241	1,050

Like the aristocracy and gentry, the bourgeoisie benefited directly from the outlay of central funds for the Progress. The building work was extensive and involved the following projects; at Holyrood Palace, rooms were expanded and parts of the outhousing demolished; <sup>203</sup> a new gate was constructed which entailed the removal of a cairn commemorating a famous local murder. <sup>204</sup> Along the route, the only building specifically stated to have been removed was the two hundred year old Weighhouse. <sup>205</sup> The outer part of the Castle was restored including the extremely lengthy surrounding wall. <sup>206</sup> In addition, there were contracts for the provision of the galleries, printing work for posters, tickets. etc. Other investors benefited too for, as a result of speculative work, many private balconies proved to be unsafe and, therefore, the Town Council's engineer was employed in inspecting them, giving instructions for alterations and then returning for a final examination - all free of charge. <sup>207</sup>

We have remarked in a previous section on the enormous profits made by businessmen throughout the region. The newspapers were full of advertisements for window space, court dress for both sexes, accommodation for people and horses. Souvenirs such as bits of tartan, buttons, authoritative accounts of the visit, pictures, song sheets, ballads and so forth were also on offer. In addition, a



panorama was set up in the town illustrating the wonders of the event. Then there were the tents for those sleeping rough to be provided. Vast quantities of food and drink and so on and so on. Complete figures are not available but, from the few examples we do have, it is easy to imagine the kind of money made. Three windows at the top of a house where a good view of the crowns of heads could be gained - seven guineas;<sup>208</sup> 100 guineas for the windows of a single flat; £5,000 for the wood for scaffolding;<sup>209</sup> anything between one half to three guineas paid for a single bed per night; five guineas per week to stable one horse at a livery.<sup>210</sup> One textile manufacturer built a new weaving shed for forty looms to satisfy the orders for tartans for the event.<sup>211</sup> And like the nobility, the bourgeoisie continued to reap the profits of the visit itself. Writing of Wilsons, a textile manufacturer, Dunbar reported that during the ten years following it, his business was almost entirely devoted to the sale of tartans.<sup>212</sup>

In the long term, the bourgeoisie and ruling class combined to exploit the resources of Scotland via the pseudo-nationalist ideology which had been legitimated earlier in the century. Hence all the elements so much enjoyed by Victoria were gradually marketed to the middle class who throughout the year would sport tartan and support Scottish-style stage shows and on holiday gathered to witness spurious highland games. As Harvie trenchantly remarks,

Thomas Cook and David MacBrayne completed the work that Scott, Mendelssohn and George IV had begun. Hotels, hydropathic establishments, houses for summer letting and golf-links followed the railway and the steamer into the Highlands. In counties where eviction and emigration were decimating the landward population, towns like Inverness doubled in size between 1851 and 1891 while Oban on the west coast had a threefold increase.<sup>213</sup>

The much admired wild wastes of the highlands were an incidental pr-



oduct of eviction and emigration which in time was to become the basis of a completely different mode of aristocratic exploitation, for estates were redeveloped for fishing, shooting and hunting with permanent housing provided for staff who would only be needed for a few weeks in the year. Thus the closure of the sheep farms ended even that form of employment leaving people to emigrate in favour of the new animal implant, deer.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE MARCH OF THE METROPOLITAN PARISHES

In many respects, 1831 was as much the year of reform as that which followed when the bill was actually passed. Throughout the struggle to push this, what in hindsight appears to be, mild measure, dramatic display, both inside and outside the Houses of Parliament, was the order of the day. In October, the debate in the House of Lords, at the end of which the proposed measure was voted out, was sufficiently attractive to warrant the building of special galleries and for the five nights that the bill was grappled over, the chamber was crowded out.<sup>1</sup> No sooner had news spread that the peers and bishops had voted against the measure than bells were tolled and newspapers were published with black borders to signify mourning. Riots took place and property and their owners were threatened. But enormous meetings and demonstrations were also mounted throughout the country, whilst Londoners witnessed the first large-scale march in favour of the bill. In this chapter, we shall examine this demonstration as an example of spectacle in which contending ideologies were dramatized, in a context that demonstrated their relative dominance as well as the interests creating and helping to enforce them.

However, before proceeding further, we need to make a few preliminary remarks regarding the Reform Bill. It should be stated at the outset that the final piece of legislation was not the same as that which activists and participants were concerned about on 12 October. Secondly, legislation for Scotland and Ireland were embodied in separate bills which followed the spirit of the Act for England and Wales. Nevertheless, for our purposes, it is unnecessary to enter into the niceties for it is the overall balance of interests which need to be kept in mind. In essence, the bill removed seats

from boroughs and redistributed them amongst English counties, which were the major beneficiaries, followed, after a large gap, by Wales, Scotland and Ireland. In addition, there was some reorganization of representation giving major urban centres MPs. The English boroughs were the reformers' main target because, for various reasons, they were open to the influence of those whose wealth enabled them to buy the privileges of parliamentary representation without having local interests. Furthermore, large towns in the country had no parliamentary representation of any kind. As regarded the franchise, a situation had gradually developed whereby those with considerable property frequently had no vote, in contrast to holders of various anachronistic rights who could be drawn from any social strata. These people could be and were bought off with various bribes at every election. The failure of the system to adequately represent the propertied interests as well as the willingness of all parties to mobilize large groups of non-voters meant the cost of elections was escalating rapidly. There were then demands to rectify the unequal distribution of power amongst the landowners and upper bourgeoisie. Secondly, there was pressure to rationalize the system so as to make it cheaper, more susceptible to control and less vulnerable to individual interests.

I

Between nine o'clock and ten o'clock on the morning of 12 October 1831, numbers of London citizens began to gather at various points in the metropolis preparatory to marching with petitions to be presented to William IV on the matter of, what was eventually to be, the Reform Bill of 1832. At nine o'clock, the parishioners of Clerkenwell, Islington and St Luke's, Middlesex met on Clerkenwell and Isl-

ington Greens and by ten o'clock, the groups had gathered together at Claremont Square, Pentonville. Similarly, at the same hour, the inhabitants of St James's, Piccadilly congregated in Hanover Square and a further gathering of Westminster residents took place outside the Black Horse Inn at Charing Cross, whilst, over the river, the Newington householders and tenants met at Albion Place, Walworth Road.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the morning, various groups converged on the principal meeting place which was at Park Crescent, New Road (now Euston Road) so that sometime between half past twelve and one o'clock (reports vary), a procession consisting of inhabitants of Marylebone, St Pancras and Paddington marched down Portland Place into Regent Street and, at several points along the route, was joined by the parishioners of Bloomsbury, St Giles, St James's, Piccadilly and Southwark. Eventually, the demonstrators turned into Pall Mall and reached St James's Palace between half past one and two o'clock.

The demonstrators were carefully ordered in lines six, eight and ten abreast; the parishes of St Marylebone and St Mary, Newington, for example, walked six abreast.<sup>3</sup> Some parishes were led by their Churchwardens, themselves preceded by the beadles: St Luke, Middlesex and St Pancras had two beadles and they and the Churchwardens appear to have been on foot,<sup>4</sup> but the officers of St Mary, Newington consisted of four beadles on foot and, on horseback, three more accompanied by eight members of the Parish Committee,<sup>5</sup> whilst St Luke's parish was led by no less a person than their rector.<sup>6</sup> The attempt to keep the procession orderly was aided by the presence of a flank man who was responsible for the order of each file i.e. line of six, eight or ten. Similarly, each division had a leader; Mr Bowyer and friend of Bloomsbury Reform Association led a division of five thousand and 'during the whole of our way, scarcely a single

cheer, or, when we felt it necessary, a groan, was given, except by word of command!'.<sup>7</sup> The success of this form of organization was attested to by police reports which stated 'the conduct of the Parties who formed the Procession from the different Parishes was perfectly peaceable' and 'several men in plain clothes...who were employed...in watching the movements, dispositions of the multitudes [found]...all their reports concurring in representing the disposition of the People, as being perfectly peaceable'.<sup>8</sup>

Not only did the demonstrators conform to a design in the order, but also with regard to the emblems which were worn. A 'Notice to the Inhabitants of St James's Parish', for example, indicated that 'the emblematic symbol is blue ribbon'.<sup>9</sup> whilst the residents of St Marylebone, St Luke and St Mary, Newington also wore blue favours.<sup>10</sup> Alternatively, demonstrators sported white favours or sprigs of laurel.<sup>11</sup> Some parishioners turned to other sources for symbols for two red caps of liberty surmounted by crowns were borne on either side of St Pancras parish officers.<sup>12</sup> Banners there were in plenty with slogans which concentrated on the king such as 'The King, the Common's, the People's rights', 'Take away the wicked from before the King' or 'Englishmen, support your patriotic King and his Ministers'. In contrast, some banners displayed more general radical claims such as 'Equal rights' and 'Union is Strength', whilst 'Reform, Radical Reform' and 'The Sacred Love of our Country Speed us' were also popular.<sup>13</sup>

Apart from blue, black and white were widely displayed colours. The St Luke, Middlesex section was not only headed by its beadles but by porters bearing a crape-bordered flag<sup>14</sup> and the St Pancras inhabitants used black on which to display their slogan referring to 'your patriotic King'. A white flag, edged with pink was deemed

appropriate by St Marylebone to demand 'the People's rights'.<sup>15</sup> The impression made by colour was extended by the livery of the parish beadles which consisted of a cocked hat, gold lace and staff of office, moreover, St Mary, Newington's beadles had further enhanced the uniforms' effect by donning blue scarfs. As well as the number of protestors on horseback, there were a number in open carriages; St Mary's committee was followed by seventeen.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from their visible presence, the marchers also made audible contributions. Bowyer's groaning and cheering ranks have already been referred to and John Powell, another organizer, also reported that the files groaned and cheered as they passed houses of the enemies or friends to the Bill.<sup>17</sup> The opponents included those such as the Bishop of Bath and Wells fortuitously resident in Langham Place and the Duke of Buckingham in Pall Mall.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, the Duke of Cleveland, a pro-reform peer, was a 'particularly well received friend'.<sup>19</sup>

On their way to the Palace, the marchers were delayed twice; once for the arrival of the City procession and a second time for the king and queen's carriage and escort. Like the parishioners, the Corporation of London had immediately responded to the Lord's rejection of the bill with the decision to present an Address to the king. And to this end, soon after noon, the Mayor, accompanied by his household officers and a number of pro-reform Aldermen, drove to the Palace to attend the Levée scheduled for that afternoon. After the Lord Mayor's party had passed, the United Parochial Procession continued on its way down Pall Mall ready to make way for and cheer their monarch on his arrival from Windsor. Previous to this event, some of the marchers had managed to pass through the immediate environs of the Palace, in order to gather in St James's Park.



But immediately after they had escorted their sovereign into the Palace, the Household Guards or 'blues' blocked this route so that the demonstrators were forced to disperse into St James's Square and the surrounding streets. Throughout the afternoon, the crowd waited to hear from their MPs and certain noble representatives what the king's response to their petitions would be. The vast majority of the petitions focused on affirmations of support for the king, requests that he should continue the present Whig ministry in office and exercise his prerogative by creating the necessary number of peers to ensure the successful passage of the bill through the House of Lords.

Reports of the numbers who gathered for the United Parochial Procession vary considerably: The Morning Chronicle and Examiner both estimated 300,000; but other newspapers were not so optimistic hence The Sun thought 200,000, Cobbett's Political Register 100,000, The Times, 60,000 and, finally, Carpenter's Political Magazine considered the crowd to be as few as 15,000.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, only pro-reform publications give any estimate in figures, although their breadth is to some extent a reflection of the degree of support given to the particular configuration of interests represented by the march. However, some anti-reform observers did remark on the size of the procession. The Standard<sup>21</sup> claimed that 'the crowd was not a third part so numerous as was anticipated' but, according to Lord Eldon, there was an 'immense mob of Reformers'.<sup>22</sup> The Duke of Wellington was given to 'understand that the Streets and Parks are full of Mobs'.<sup>23</sup> Overall, the estimate by Powell appears to be the most well considered since he wrote that despite the newspaper estimates of between 70,000 and 300,000, '70,000 is near the truth, but taking into consideration the crowds which met and accompanied us on the line of march there might have been nearer 500,000'.<sup>24</sup>

Most commentators appear to have been impressed by the numbers of onlookers for, as The Sun remarked, 'the populace were to be seen in every quarter congregated in separate groups'.<sup>25</sup> Cobbett reported masses of people gathered on the streets, as far out as Kensington;<sup>26</sup> Lord Broughton recorded crowds on the streets<sup>27</sup> and Holland, likewise on his way to the Levée, wrote that the 'concourse of people was immense'.<sup>28</sup> The spectators, as The Sun reporter put it, were 'waiting in anxious expectancy to witness the imposing spectacle'.<sup>29</sup> Apart from the Parish Procession, that of the Corporation drew such numbers that the Lord Mayor, Common Councillors and Aldermen travelled the two miles from Guildhall to St James's 'amidst the shouts of the people'.<sup>30</sup> The appearance alone of the Corporation justified the onlookers' wait, since, even if there were only thirty one carriages as The Times claimed as opposed to the ninety seven The Sun saw, the procession 'consisted of the Lord Mayor, in his State carriage drawn by six horses, and preceded by the marshals on foot, and the two city marshals on horseback...the Lord Mayor was accompanied by several aldermen and a number of the common councilmen in their robes'.<sup>31</sup> The Mayor was in court dress of the manner of the eighteenth century as well as a black and gold robe and hat and bore the insignia of his office. Aldermen were in scarlet, councillors in blue; the city marshals were clothed in army uniforms also deriving from the previous century. The Corporation's servants were garbed in Court dress and various items, such as wigs, which indicated their legal preoccupations. As for the Lord Mayor's household-servants, their catholicity of dress demonstrated the varied origins of their offices, some of which dated from as far back as the fourteenth century. Moreover, the State Coach, in which the Mayor was borne, was a product of the eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup>

However, the spectators were not to be outdone by either of the processions, as numerous actions were taken by them to mark the event. By far the most significant was the closure of shops. Eldon wrote that 'all the shops in the town were shut yesterday',<sup>33</sup> but other commentators were more specific. Thus the closure of the 'watch manufacturers and working jewellers' close to Clerkenwell Green was remarked upon<sup>34</sup> likewise 'every shop in Regent-street, Bond-street, Pall-mall, and indeed, generally throughout the Westend of the town' was shut.<sup>35</sup> All those shops 'along the whole line of procession' of the Corporation put up their shutters<sup>36</sup> and 'business was suspended even in the private streets'.<sup>37</sup> A letter written to the anti-reform The Standard concurred with these claims agreeing that 'most of the shops' were closed.<sup>38</sup> We shall go into the reasons why shopkeepers shut shop for the day in a later section turning in the meantime to those unmistakable gestures made by the spectators. 'Deafening acclamations arose from the multitude' remarked The Sun<sup>39</sup> and, as the Lord Mayor came down Pall-mall he was loudly and most enthusiastically cheered by the crowds, also Aldermen Waithman, Thorp, and other popular members of the corporation'.<sup>40</sup> Powell informed Francis Place later that 'all the windows of the streets through which we passed were crowded with spectators',<sup>41</sup> and both Powell and The Sun remarked on the quantity of handkerchief waving. Powell went on to describe the ribbons, flowers and cockades which 'were frequently showered upon us as we passed'.<sup>42</sup> It is, however, more difficult to substantiate Powell's claims regarding even more elaborate responses by the onlookers since no newspaper report appears to refer to the bands of music and church bells which he wrote played and rang, although there is some support for his statement that 'flags and other items were hung out'.<sup>43</sup> Earlier that week, a Brick-lane

coffee shop had been displaying a black flag trimmed with crape and mourning was hung from the front of a pub on Clerkenwell Green.<sup>44</sup> However, it would seem possible that such insignia was only displayed in the east end and northern parishes.

The Levée, upon which so much attention was focused, started at two o'clock in the afternoon and was attended by Ambassadors and their staff, Ministers and Secretaries of State and Household officers, as well as the aristocracy, officers of the armed forces, clergy, etc. The entrée Levée was, however, preceded by the Audience to the Sherriffs of London and Middlesex, Deputy Remembrancer and two Aldermen, which took the form of a purely formal request by the Corporation for an Audience that was automatically granted. Immediately, the Lord Mayor, accompanied by his officers, Aldermen and Common Councillors was received by the king to whom the Corporation's Address was offered and received with a speech delivered by the king but written for him by the Cabinet. The answer acknowledged the 'expression of your loyalty...and of your confidence in my constitutional advisers'. In vaguely couched phrases, it confirmed a willingness to adopt 'such measures as may seem best calculated' to maintain 'the just rights of my people' but 'earnestly recommended' the Corporation to use its influence 'for the purpose of preserving the public peace'.<sup>45</sup> During the rest of the entrée Levée, other audiences were given chiefly to Ambassadors. The preliminaries having been completed, the king proceeded to the general Levée at which the addresses and petitions of the Livery of London as well as those drawn up by the parishes of the Metropolis were presented. In addition, Byng, one of the two Middlesex County MPs presented one from St Luke's carpenters and joiners and Hume, the other MP, offered one from 'the working classes of the eastern part of London'.<sup>46</sup> The

parish delegates were prevented, earlier on in the day, from appearing before the king and were offered, instead, a 'privileged' position, namely the Palace Yard, in which to consult their MPs and await their sovereign's reply.<sup>47</sup>

Byng and Hume were enthusiastically cheered from the former's house in St James's Square to the Palace and, likewise, when they returned an hour later. As spokesman for two of the most politically-active radical boroughs of London - St Marylebone and Paddington - Hume was probably bound to take the lead in addressing the crowd. The Times claimed that 40,000 stood and listened to Hume's report of the king's response to the petitions which included an agreement to 'use all constitutional means to pass the reform bill', affirmation of the 'highest confidence in the present ministry' and a promise that 'all persons about his Court or person opposed to the bill should be removed'. (This last being a reference to the anti-reform, Earl Howe, a member of the queen's household, who was, indeed, 'removed'.) Finally, 'the hon. member then earnestly exhorted the people to preserve peace and good order'.<sup>48</sup>

At about four o'clock then, having completed their business, the demonstrators began to disperse. Whilst The Times wished to claim that 'the processions on their return, as well as on their arrival were loudly cheered by the immense crowds who lined both sides of the way', all other reports indicated that the march broke up.<sup>49</sup> Although some demonstrators made their way homewards, some remained in the West end. Generally speaking, order amongst the demonstrators had been preserved up until this point. However, during the meeting outside Byng's house, some or all (reports vary) of the windows were broken in the anti-reform, Marquis of Bristol's house which was also situated in the square. Reports of the listening



crowd's response differ slightly but they agree on essentials. On the following day, The Times claimed that the perpetrators had stopped in response to 'entreaty' but the paper quickly switched to the majority view in the subsequent days namely that 'the Parishioners themselves rushed upon the mob and prevented further destruction'.<sup>50</sup>

This attack, which took place at around four o'clock, was an auger of the breakdown of orderliness on the part of participants and spectators. Throughout the late afternoon, there were a series of attacks on the property of known aristocratic anti-reformers. At about the same time, as the Bristol attack took place, a 'mob' broke the windows of Apsley House, then occupied by the Duke of Wellington;<sup>51</sup> the Earl of Dudley's home was similarly visited.<sup>52</sup> In both cases, the police were able to gather in sufficient numbers to drive off the rioters.<sup>53</sup> The persons of some eminent anti-reformers suffered abuse, too. The crowds seem to have used the parks in which to gather as the Duke of Wellington referred to 'a considerable body in the Park about the Statue'.<sup>54</sup> However, not only Hyde Park was occupied but St James's Park continued to be, so that both the Marquis of Londonderry and the Duke of Cumberland were 'attacked' as they crossed it that afternoon.

Londonderry had already threatened to shoot any reformer who approached him and it is possible that his decision to cross the crowded park was deliberate provocation. Hetherington in his Poor Man's Guardian, the main platform for working class opposition to the bill, claimed that Londonderry 'presented a pistol at a boy who ventured to offer him one of Brougham's speeches, with a portrait... this enraged "the mob", who nearly stoned him to death'.<sup>55</sup> The Times suggested that the stone throwing was 'spontaneous' and that



the threatened pistol stopped the rain of stones.<sup>56</sup> He appears to have escaped as a result of the friend accompanying him urging a quick ride to the Horse Guards. With regard to the Duke of Cumberland, although he was dragged from his horse, he was still able to walk alongside his rescuers, the police, who assisted him to the Horse Guards, too. In spite of Eldon's claim that 'Londonderry has been very seriously hurt',<sup>57</sup> neither he nor Cumberland appear to have suffered any serious damage rather they were cases of the humiliation of being 'cheered by the shouts and laughter' of some of the crowd.<sup>58</sup>

The other attacks took the form of anti-police action. The Times reported two incidents involving the rescue of prisoners, both of which took place in the Charles Street/St James's Square vicinity. The first occurred 'at about four o'clock' when 'three policemen were observed coming through St James's square, with a prisoner in their custody. Without waiting to ascertain his offence, they were groaned at, and followed by thousands of persons through Charles-street. The crowd surrounded the policemen and rescued the prisoner, who made off'. Likewise 'some young thieves' were rescued at the same place a little later.<sup>59</sup> Even after prisoners were rescued, feeling against the police was strong enough to sustain actions such as 'pushing them along', stone-throwing, kicking and beating. The crowd could often identify officers of the law, even when they were in plain clothes. Powell reported that the police were advised to appear in 'coloured cloaths' i.e. plain clothes, and this advice was adopted.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, 'a policeman in undress' escaped into Marlborough House and an inspector 'in private clothes' was 'kicked and beaten'.

Although the anti-reform recorders of the day made much of these events, they were clearly isolated incidents, as Hamburger concluded,

'the disturbances that took place, in London, at least, were quite petty',<sup>61</sup> and Cobbett dismissed them remarking on how 'little' violence was committed.<sup>62</sup> And even Lord Eldon, who lived at the Apsley House end of Piccadilly, reported that 'the night was passed, most unexpectedly quiet hereabouts'.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, that same evening, the streets were quite safe enough not to discourage, at least, Lord Ellenborough from attendance at the House of Lords.<sup>64</sup>

We come now to some consideration of the make-up of the crowd at the event. We shall discuss firstly the distinction, if any, between the 'mob' and participants and secondly, differences permitting identification of distinct spectator and participant groupings. In considering the evidence on the make-up of the crowd at the event, it is clear that no real distinction can be made between the so-called 'mob' and the participants in the demonstration. So far as the latter were concerned, the descriptions of them do not, on the whole, conflict. The police described the parishioners as 'respectable looking persons'.<sup>65</sup> The pro-reform newspapers referred to the 'respectable' procession of St Luke, Middlesex and the 'inhabitants of this highly respectable parish' described the St Marylebone parish.<sup>66</sup> With respect to the occupations of the participants concerned, both pro- and anti-commentators agreed that a large number were shopkeepers and artisans. Thus a leaflet was distributed in St James's, Westminster by the 'gentlemen of the Committee' addressed to their 'fellow tradesmen',<sup>67</sup> and a letter written to The Standard<sup>68</sup> claimed that a shopkeeper of Piccadilly, beribboned with blue, came round encouraging his fellow shop proprietors to shut-up shop. Finally, Clerkenwell Reform Union urged that 'the inhabitants should

meet on Wednesday next, and proceed in a body with an address to his Majesty; on which day the shops are to be closed, and all business suspended'.<sup>69</sup> That the term 'shopkeeper' included artisans was clear from the earlier reference to the 'working jewellers' of Clerkenwell Green. Further, Broughton recorded an attempt, by him, to persuade a shoemaker proprietor in Bond Street to take down a pro-reform placard.<sup>70</sup> Finally, a letter written to The Times referred to the make-up of the procession as 'many thousands of the peaceable, industrious, and loyal inhabitants of London [who are] ...the mere decimal delegates to the parishes to which they belong'.<sup>71</sup> It is, therefore, reasonable to hazard the guess that the procession was drawn from the shopkeeper, artisan and journeyman elements of the middle and working classes.

However, many observers referred to the 'mob' when, in fact, they were describing the procession. Thus, according to The Standard 'the mob... hovered during Wednesday between Piccadilly and Palace-yard',<sup>72</sup> that is the St James's Square area where the marchers gathered. Or the procession and the 'mob' incidents were seen as one and the same, thus according to Eldon, 'the immense mob of Reformers... proceeded first to the Duke of Wellington's'.<sup>73</sup> Such remarks tend to suggest a similarity in the personnel of the 'mob' and procession which is best illustrated by the following police report. 'In Lambeth division the police were called upon to deal with persons who, while marching, wished to carry things ordinarily kept at the Rotunda; when they were refused, windows were broken'.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, police reports also confirmed Powell's earlier statement that the processions were followed by a distinct group, so that the attack on Apsley House was made by 'a great number of men and boys' who had followed one of the cavalcades as it returned through the

park from the palace.<sup>75</sup> Information of convictions earlier that week for throwing stones at the Dukes of Newcastle and Northumberland's houses as well as dirt throwing at Wellington's carriage referred to a journeyman baker and journeyman tailor. An unemployed journeyman printer was arrested after an attempted prisoner rescue and a butcher taken in for assaulting a policeman.<sup>76</sup> However, after the United Parochial Procession, the majority of convictions seem to have been for pickpocketing and typically affected no one over sixteen.<sup>77</sup> We shall conclude by suggesting that there was some division between those who took part in the spectacle and those who were involved in the assaults on property and possibly on the persons of public figures.<sup>78</sup> Petty crime was almost certainly confined to juvenile members of the lumpenproletariat and/or lower class.

We come now to the question of the identification of spectators and participants, for not only is a participant/'mob' differentiation difficult to make and often slight when located but, as Rude<sup>79</sup> has pointed out of the eighteenth-century riot, 'it is doubtful if any clear-cut and valid distinction...can be made between the bulk of those who join the crowd and those who line the sidewalks as mere spectators'.<sup>79</sup> Whilst it is clear that this interchangeability is likely to be greater in a riot, there is plenty of evidence to suggest a different version of the same problem existed during the Metropolitan Parishes March. It was typified by the reception given to the Corporation Procession, the Mayor's party was loudly cheered by the crowds but, 'after the civic procession had moved on to the Palace, the parishes continued their march into St James's Square'.<sup>80</sup> This lack of differentiation tended to become more marked once the demonstrators had arrived outside the Palace as, during their wait, both they and the spectators were free to intermingle. Moreover,

street salesmen 'wandered through the crowd carrying seditious papers' and added to the spectacle with their 'little models of gibbets and figures suspended' and 'the Lords' or 'the Bishops' etc. superscribed.<sup>81</sup> Doubtless various forms of refreshment were also available. Notwithstanding, the dual participant/spectator role of many of the crowd as well as the generally shared class background of the demonstrators, there was an identifiable spectator grouping for, once the procession started on its way down Portland Place, it was in the part of London occupied by the upper class. The Sun claimed that in every street through which the procession passed the windows and tops of the houses were lined with well-dressed females, who waved their handkerchiefs in approbation of the scene before them'.<sup>82</sup> Doubtless this is a reference to the presence of the families and friends of wealthy and, sometimes, ennobled reform supporters of which there were some. However, The Times remarked that 'there was scarcely a woman to be seen in the crowd on the pavement',<sup>83</sup> suggesting there was a sexual division matching the viewing areas. Further, it seems certain that few if any women were amongst the participants thus helping to add an additional means of identification to the marchers.

As will be seen from the above, the parishioners' march and the parade of the Corporation of London was a large and colourful event. There were banners, flags, cockades of various colours interspersed with the colourful dress of parish and corporation officials. The orchestrated groans and cheers of the participants were enlarged by the applause of the spectators. The main action was fragmented by dramatic highpoints, like the accompaniment of Hume and Byng to and from St James's Palace in the afternoon. Similarly, variations in the pace and nature of the action were important in retaining the

interest of the crowd over a period of several hours. Hence, the gradual build-up in numbers as different parishes converged on the palace was given extra dash by the arrival of the Lord Mayor of London with entourage moving more rapidly and in a different order. Further, participants blended with spectators at that point in order to cheer the cavalcade, a symbolic action which helped emphasize the legitimacy of the whole demonstration as well as adding strength to its ideological components - both matters to which we shall return in a later section.

The event had been planned quickly and efficiently because those involved were long-standing activists in the parish reform movement, a product of the mid 1820s when as a result of the increasing poor rates and growing population revealing the inadequacy of the existing local government system, the middle class had begun to protest. There were several consequences of the movement; firstly, contacts could be made easily and with established groups thus decreasing the time needed for mobilization. In the second place, the organizers were skilled in a wide range of areas and were as adept at addressing a public meeting as they were at approaching the press. As a result, although the march was not called for until the evening of 8 October, convening such large numbers into a coherent demonstration was not, by any means, an insuperable task. We shall be discussing these questions and others in the following section which will be devoted to the organizers and their aims.

As a spectacle, the March of the Metropolitan Parishes was a remarkably successful statement of progressive interests in favour of the Reform Bill. Moreover, this statement demonstrated the balance of power between the interests concerned, as well as the origins of many of the incorporated symbols. The bill, which the Parishes and



Corporation of London were so anxious to see passed, was an articulation of the confrontation between the ruling and middle classes over the issue of the distribution of political power within the terms established by the ruling class. The main argument presented by the middle class being that the changed property relations which derived from the bourgeoisie's increased wealth entitled them to parliamentary representation. However, the upper bourgeoisie, in particular, also sought to intervene in and stabilize the domination of landed and commercial interests by, not only improving their own situation, but rationalizing the aristocracy's mode of rule in the counties. To this end, they sought to remove the most visible abuses, such as enormous bribes, rotten boroughs, i.e. those constituencies which had become almost devoid of population/those entitled to vote, and long, highly disorderly elections. This position was largely shared by the petite bourgeoisie, although they had other concerns, too, which mainly revolved around the issues of taxation and the 'freedom' to determine how they spent their money both at national and local levels. Given the nature of the confrontation, the working class could only be involved in the spectacle through identification of their interests with those of the middle class. However, as was clear from the Parish Procession, many of its elements derived from post-war, largely working class, pro-reform organizations. So far as the 'mob' action was concerned, it was a mode of traditional humiliation and damage to the property of individual enemies of reform. Yet, such action, could possibly affect the structural concerns of the middle class. Consequently, the Procession was not only, in part, an instance of middle-class opposition to aristocratic rule but also a call for 'law and order', under which banner, they and the king, it was proposed, could unite. As

a result, the spectacle was aimed at indicating the degree of commitment by the middle class to the values embodied in the bill. Nevertheless, the numbers and rapid response to the aristocracy's action was a measure of the determination and ability of this class to wrest its due political 'rights'. In short, it is possible to identify the whole of the day's proceedings as an ultimate acceptance of the established order.

## II

In this section, we shall consider the organizers of the spectacle, in particular the body behind the mobilization of the parishes. The latter and lesser part will be devoted to the groups activating the City of London. The main organizers of the parish march were a group of activists living in the Clerkenwell/Bloomsbury area of London. The fullest published account is that of John Powell and tends to exaggerate the contribution made by him and his associate, Thomas Bowyer.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, the main outline is clear. Like many Parish Reform Associations, the Bloomsbury Reform Association met on the evening of 8 October to debate what action should be taken in the light of the Lords' decision. After a lengthy discussion, it was agreed that a petition should be presented to the king at the next Levée, the dates of which were published well in advance and were the customary ceremony for approaches to the throne. Responses to the proposal of a demonstration were more muted and it was decided to sound out other associations before coming to a final decision on the matter. Over the weekend, an ad hoc committee was formed embracing representatives from many of the parishes in order to make sure that all parishes pressed their officers to convene a vestry meeting so as a petition could be prepared and official sanc-

tion given to the proposed demonstration.

The Parish Reform Associations had been founded in the late 1820s in order to change the form of local administration. In the City, Westminster and fifty to sixty out of the other 200 London parishes, close vestries prevailed. These bodies consisted of life serving members with co-opting powers and, as the Webbs pointed out, 'it was a peculiarity of many of the Metropolitan Close Vestries that they always included a considerable number of persons of rank and distinction'.<sup>85</sup> Agitation against these long established bodies had occurred prior to the 1820s but it was the 1825-6 financial collapse, the resulting increase in pauperism and distress amongst householders leading to huge increases in the poor rate which appear to have been the chief cause for the renewed attempts to change legislation.<sup>86</sup> The rates certainly increased markedly during the first thirty years of the century; in St Pancras, for example, whilst the population trebled the rates quadrupled, similarly, the population doubled and the rates trebled in St Marylebone,<sup>87</sup> and this pattern was repeated throughout many boroughs in England. Looking ahead, the Vestries Act, which was passed in October, 1831, was acted upon in the main by London parishes. Inhabitants of both St Marylebone and St Pancras as well as St James's, Piccadilly (all three of whom had representatives on the march) agitated unsuccessfully to get the House of Commons to pass bills ending the close vestries. It would appear that the lack of success as well as continuing high local taxes was the major factor in encouraging the Parish Associations, in London, to support Parliamentary Reform. Prothero argues that 'the chief political activity in the late 1820s had been the agitations in several parishes, especially St Marylebone, against their select vestries. It was the committees and groups formed in these agitations that re-

ally organized the London campaigns for the Reform Bills, as coupled with the success of Reform was that of Hobhouse's Vestries Bill'.<sup>88</sup>

The community/parochial bias of parish reform attracted representatives from all sections of the middle class because as R.K Webb remarks, 'whatever differences about economic theory, commercial policy, humanitarianism, or religion may have cut across England's middle classes in the thirties, there was one reform on which the town dwellers among them were almost as fully agreed as they had been on Parliamentary Reform - the need to reform the Municipal Corporations!'.<sup>89</sup>

The Webbs identified the chief interests involved for it was 'a movement in favour of economy and efficiency, promoted by the well-to-do ratepayers often including the clergyman of the parish'.<sup>90</sup>

Hence, as may be recalled, Dr Rice headed the St Luke's Procession and The Sun recorded that the Rector, Rev. Dr Kenny, a 'rare official to be present' assisted in drawing up the St Olive, Southwark Address.<sup>91</sup>

However, unanimity should not be exaggerated for there were **conflicts within the** middle class regarding the best strategy to be adopted in pursuing their interests. Typically, such differences were products of sectional interests. The Webbs provide a useful breakdown of the different kinds of metropolitan select vestries based on identification of the dominant class/section demonstrating that, as a result of the peculiarities of the parish system, certain **groups** of the middle class had been able to gain power in a considerable proportion of them. Thus, we find that the majority were dominated by small shopkeepers and builders for whom local business could be furthered by exploitation of the vestry. In addition to the financial rewards arising from contracts, there were also status symbols and perks such as large meals, plenty of drinks, untutored behaviour from underlings and so on. The remaining parishes

were under the control of the upper class of which a few involved a division whereby the administration was in the hands of the middle class.<sup>92</sup> One result of official opposition was difficulties in mobilization; the Clerkenwell and St Ann's, Westminster Reform Associations were both prevented from meeting in the vestry leaving the Clerkenwell inhabitants to meet on the Green and those from St Ann's in a public house.

Having identified the origins of the parish organizations and the class whose interests they chiefly served, we come now to some consideration of the aims of the organizers, focusing, in the main, on those pertaining to the spectacle. First and most importantly, they sought to terrify the anti-reform lobby of the ruling class. As Powell succinctly stated, on their own 'petitions would be useless; because the 'Tories had the upper hand and would keep it' and, therefore, the 'moral power of the people could be of no avail unless we gave the King and the Tories reason to expect it would be backed by a tolerable portion of physical power'.<sup>93</sup> The 'physical power' to which Powell was referring was, of course, that of the lower class whose political activity in their own interest was the thing most feared by the ruling class. The organizers were well aware of the need to gather large masses for Powell agreed 'a small shew in point of numbers would rather injure than promote our cause' and that this 'was the difficulty...it was the most serious difficulty I had to encounter'.<sup>94</sup> It was part of a deliberate strategy, therefore, to make calls to 'the people' and 'the nation' to demonstrate their 'strength' and 'unanimity'. Further much of the sabre rattling, on the part of the leaders, was for the benefit of the working class. Marylebone had a long history of working class political agitation and was atypical for London and Place noted

'the Parish of Mary-le-bone had taken the lead respecting Parliamentary interference for the regulation of vestries [and] ...appointed a committee to watch over their interests and this committee now considered themselves a political committee in respect to the reform bill'.<sup>95</sup> It was only on 10 October that 50,000 people had gathered in order 'to address the King, support his Majesty's ministers, and consult on the present state of public affairs'.<sup>96</sup> It was the size of the meeting which was exceptional and the fact that people attended with banners and the old-established favours of working class post-war reform agitation - the laurel and white ribbon. The importance of a Marylebone meeting was further attested to in Place's observation that 'considerably more than half the persons present were of the working classes from all parts of town'.<sup>97</sup>

There was however an additional problem regarding the mobilization of the lower class which was simply that the middle class were also afraid of their subordinates when not controlled by bourgeois ideology. It is largely for this reason that so much ambivalence was displayed toward the aristocracy after the bill was passed, for, although the industrial towns had been enfranchised, the voters proceeded to elect aristocratic representatives. Further, the middle class lent their support to the deliberate disfranchising of the few workers who had the vote not only by electing members of the ruling class to represent them but, later, through their extreme opposition to Chartism. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they shared the view of the ruling class that stability meant suppression of the working class.

It was largely as a result of the tension arising from fear of the working class and opposition to dominant interests that the strategy we shall now outline was adopted prior to and during the spec-



tacle. In the first place, the demonstration was a dramatization of the isolation of the working class's radical leadership and, in the second place, a symbolization of the power supporting the Whig leadership. Regarding the isolation of the working-class leadership, Francis Place used his much vaunted influence to press Melbourne, the Home Secretary, to keep the police and soldiers hidden because 'the men who went in procession would be much more disposed to prevent than to promote mischief'.<sup>98</sup> But, in practice, the police acted against certain political groups as much as they did to contain the 'mob'. Thus, 'in Lambeth division, the police were called upon to deal with persons who, while marching, wished to carry flags ordinarily kept at the Rotunda' and, apparently successfully prevented this section from joining the procession.<sup>99</sup> However, opposition to the Rotundaists was not peculiar to the police for the organizers themselves were no friends to those who 'were bitten with the Rotunda notions'.<sup>100</sup> These 'notions', which will be referred to henceforth as the 'Rotunda Platform' consisted, so far as reform of the House of Commons was concerned, of calls for Annual Parliaments, Ballot Voting and Suffrage for all males over the age of twenty one. Further, the Rotundaists were far from complacent about the Reform Act and one faction voted not to give it any support, critical or otherwise. It is extremely significant that the National Political Union held its founding meeting on the evening of the march and was expressly designed to counter the growing strength of the more radical National Union of Working Classes whose members held Jacobin positions and were beginning to develop critiques of the existing property relations. The founders of the Political Union who included Place, Bowyer and Powell, all promoters of the procession, aimed 'to draw the discreet, orderly, well-informed men among the working cla-

ss'.<sup>101</sup> Thus opportunism combined with conviction to make the organizers demonstrate their opposition to working-class interests.

The word 'support' was tirelessly employed in the preambles to petitions, not only that prepared by St Marylebone parish to which we have referred above. Thus the St James Society reminded parishioners that 'it is to you Ministers look in the present crisis for support'<sup>102</sup> and St Bride's Parish beseeched 'His Majesty to continue to his faithful and devoted Ministers that confidence and support with which he has hitherto honoured them'.<sup>103</sup> To the organizers, it was clear that unless the Whig ministry remained in office, this particular bill would not be passed consequently the Metropolitan Parish Procession became an overtly pro-Whig demonstration. Apart from demonstrating strongly in favour of the existing Ministry, declaring deep anxiety about the prospect of social unrest was another factor. We shall be examining this matter more closely later in the chapter but the organizers certainly were aware of the effect to be drawn from the 'mob'. Thus Bowyer stated that 'apprehension... as to whether any popular movement would take place in the event of the Bill being rejected' was 'sufficient to work upon the fear of the Court and to retain the Ministry in office'. In fact, he himself favoured creating, 'if possible, an impression that popular violence would be provoked if the Reform Bill were any longer obstructed' because 'little things of this sort', namely riots, 'keep the public mind up to concert pitch. They give a kind of relief to our other measures'.<sup>104</sup> Bowyer's remark also suggests that calling for support for the Whig ministry was an important factor in mobilizing the middle class of London for the legitimacy of supporting the existing government could hardly be in doubt.

Whilst the City of London parade was, in many respects, entirely

separate from that of the parishes, it was a product of similar interests. Thus it is certain that the ad hoc committee involved representatives from wards of the city. The Court of Common Council which governed the City of London met on Saturday evening and determined to present a petition to the king. The presence of the Corporation was significant. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had typically been opposed to central government decisions. The wealth of the City rested squarely on trade but, rather than make available political power to the increasingly wealthy bourgeoisie, 'it was part of the fixed tradition of the English Government, at any rate since the Revolution, to treat the Chief Magistrate of the City of London with the most elaborate respect ...and for the Secretaries of State even to go out of their way to do formal honours to his pretensions'.<sup>105</sup> Thus, whilst many of the most wealthy bankers and merchants had gained powerful political positions by buying Parliamentary seats, through intermarriage with the aristocracy and land acquisition, ritual was used to exclude the majority of the middle class from other forms of state power. The Common Councillors, as the Webbs declare, were 'generally respectable retail tradesmen, or persons belonging to the same rank in life, including attorneys in many instances...The Freeman householders, who alone can be elected, do not, generally speaking, comprehend the higher class of merchants. Besides this...those of the higher class who are capable of being elected are unwilling to serve'.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, in order to become an Alderman, an office which did not involve the time-consuming detail of the less exalted positions, it was necessary to have considerable means. Francis Place estimated in 1833 that the cost to the Mayor, Sheriffs, Corporation and Companies of the Mayoralty was £20,000 a year.<sup>107</sup>

As a result of the constraints on the power of the governors of the city placed upon it both by the ruling class and the residue of more traditional modes of command, throughout the same period, it was 'the Common Council of the City of London that most often gave the lead...prided itself on its political independence...and became the real political educator of London's "lower orders"'.<sup>100</sup> It is clear then that for both the working and middle classes of London, a public affirmation of political opinion by the Corporation either acted as a rallying point for other political activity or emphasized solidarity when Londoners had already decided on a policy of action. Thus the Corporation was a body expressing much more complex contending interests than those involved in the parish march proper and the responses to it demonstrate this. However, as regards the spectacle, the extremely Whig position of the executive was the most significant factor.

As we have already seen, attempts were made by members of the National Union of the Working Classes and other groups who met at the Rotunda to join the march. We shall, therefore, give these bodies brief consideration, beginning with a statement of origins, aims and relations between themselves and other organizations outside the Rotunda. From there, we shall move to an assessment of the Rotundaists' presence at the march. Firstly, it seems likely that those marching under the banners 'ordinarily kept at the Rotunda' were drawn from several groups. There does not appear to be anything in the police report to suggest one group more than any other was represented. Probably because the building, situated on the south bank of the Thames, was used by a variety of societies in which to meet as well as various individuals who lectured on religion, revolution and associated topics. However, the most important association then

meeting at the Rotunda was the NUWC founded in 1830. It was the product of several forces in the contemporary London radical scene. At one level, it was the offshoot of the Owenite British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge but it also embraced important sections of the trade union movement, in particular, those associated with general unionism. At the core of the beliefs of the NUWC was a commitment to the mutuality of the lower class and, as a result, the association was committed amongst other things to the Rotundaist platform. However, other individuals were present at the Wednesday evening debates held at the Rotunda, notably those who had been engaged in struggles to establish a working-class press. Many of these activists would have also considered themselves Owenites, although there was also an individualist aspect to this particular section. This was largely due to Richard Carlile, the radical newspaper publisher but could hardly be overlooked since it was he who owned the Rotunda! He and his supporters and some of his protégés were opposed to organized groups of any kind and were, therefore, equally against the NUWC and the Parish Reform Associations.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, the activists who were to found the London Political Union also had a clear position regarding the NUWC. 'Members of the Political Union', Thomis and Holt state, 'wishing to be strong enough to coerce the government themselves, were equally determined that it should not be coerced by the advocates of universal suffrage who threatened more than mild adjustments to the political machinery'.<sup>110</sup> The expression of this policy in the demonstration will be referred to below. Yet, according to Place, the NUWC had enough influence to make it necessary to take it into consideration when proceeding with the campaign for the Reform Bill. 'As it was', Thomis and Holt conclude, the NUWCs 'relationship with the political unions was one of



mutual hostility'.<sup>111</sup>

The most significant factor regarding the Rotundaists and the Procession was that the leadership had no unified position, consequently, they had not established whether the NUWC (and its fellow travellers) should or should not be engaged in the demonstration (or, indeed, any other activity designed to promote the bill). They had no theory whereby class relations could be properly explained and, as a result, could not decide what was their relationship with the middle class. Further, although the essentially antagonistic nature of the interests of the lower and upper classes were appreciated, the role of the state was not leading to belief in its neutrality and benevolence. Thus the meeting held on the Monday evening prior to the Procession passed a motion reiterating 'our creed is before the whole world - Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, and Annual Parliaments'. The motion claimed the bill was an articulation of differences between the middle and upper class, and advocated holding aloof from the immediate struggle. Nevertheless, the issue continued to be seen as one of corruption and injustice in the administration since in both that statement and one produced at a meeting two days later, emphasis was placed on the creation of a just legal system via means requiring the goodwill of the ruling class. The declaration adopted by the Wednesday meeting stated 'we, therefore, rely on the honest intentions of a Patriot King, and on his Ministers, who, we trust, have the happiness and welfare of this kingdom at heart; and not their own exclusive privileges and distinctions'.<sup>112</sup>

There was one section of the Rotundaists who took the position that the middle and lower classes were not in essential contradiction, however much they pursued opposing interests, for it was argued the working class comprised manual and intellectual labourers because



both are 'productive species of labour'. Further William Carpenter affirmed of the bill 'I have, from the beginning, declared it to be worthy of acceptance only because it recognized principles and embraced changes which were just, as far as they went'. For, as he went on to argue, it is not the intention of the framers of the bill which is important but the circumstances produced by the bill which 'necessarily tends toward further change'.<sup>113</sup> Thus theoretical differences led to a mixture of statements some of which gave a tactical lead clearly not held by all of the NUWC leadership.

Consequently, at least one section of the NUWC was almost certainly part of the demonstration for the Bethnal Green branch that day presented an address for the king to Melbourne, the Home Secretary, who declined to forward it because of 'the strong language it contained'.<sup>114</sup> Thus NUWC members and supporters were engaged at some level in the demonstration largely because of the equivocal policy regarding the status of the king and other institutions of power.

### III

It will be apparent from our discussion of the aims of the organizers that the emphasis in this spectacle was almost entirely on the primary target group. However, we shall also devote some space to matters relating to the mobilization of the participants since, as we have already observed, there was an important overlap between them and the spectators. Commencing then with the Tories, who were undoubtedly the most significant primary target group.

When they decried the Tories, the activists and participants were referring to a heterogeneous fraction of the ruling class. As a result of a variety of interests, whose circumlocutions we do not need to untangle, the Church of England leadership, bankers, merch-

ants and some landowners opted to oppose the Reform Bill in the House of Lords. In certain respects it makes more sense to enquire how it came about that so many members of the governing class came to vote for a bill which seemed deliberately designed to undermine their power. But confining ourselves for the present to opponents, we shall briefly comment on the interests of the established Church and dominant financial and landed interests. It was largely because the concerns influencing the bishops were so blatant that so many attacks were directed at them by pro-reformers. The enormous opposition to the exploitation by the Church of England via tithes was exacerbated by the presence of so many parsons either in their own right or, increasingly, as squires on the magistrates' benches. The claims made by the Church for the right to morally judge others merely added insult to injury. Further, although Brock states that they feared both popular anger at their failure to vote for the bill as well as the radicals' threatened reorganization of the established church should the legislation be passed, it is evident that the loss of revenue and authority was a far more weighty factor than nebulous 'anger', however violent.<sup>115</sup> Similarly bankers and merchants i.e. the nouveaux riches, stood to lose considerably under the clauses relating to constituencies since the upper bourgeoisie constituted a large number of patrons of the close boroughs, so much abhorred and duly scheduled for removal in the bill.<sup>116</sup> Further, for the sixty years prior to 1832, they had benefited from this cash outlay in other ways as 'borough-mongering was one of the leading qualifications for ennoblement'.<sup>117</sup> But the whole bill and strategy of the Whigs made it quite clear that one of their key aims was to strengthen the authority of the existing peerage i.e. block these routes to political and social upward mobility.

The difficulties over getting the Reform Bill through the Houses of Commons and Lords were largely a product of the wrangles over formal articulation of a new structure of power within the ruling class. The entrance of capital into the arena meant that landed proprietors lacking capital for investment, whatever the reason, were in no position to maintain an active role in ruling the country. Further, the position of the upper bourgeoisie was a product of the exercise of illegitimate manipulation for, although wealth gave them political power, it was maintained that the peerage, a closed, self-perpetuating body, was the authentic ruling class. As a result of the expansion of the bourgeoisie, it was no longer possible to hold to this position, although predictably those who were the beneficiaries of blatant injustice (within the liberal definition of justice i.e. independent property holders were equal) were the least willing to give it up. It was because the push came from the middle class, in every sense outside of the parliamentary system and the ruling class, dominated by a declining landed interest, that it was these two forces which confronted each other. Consequently, it was amongst the peerage that greatest disunity could be observed. Those who opposed the legislation did so in terms that demonstrated only too clearly how impossible it was to maintain domination without some kind of rational articulation of the real distribution of power within the ruling class. They resisted structural analysis and fell back, as Brock outlines, on conspiracy theories and prophecies of doom.<sup>118</sup> These analyses, if this is not too grand a term, as well as the final position which was adopted showed how far the 'pure' landowner, that is the proprietor deriving income solely from rent, was marginal in a strata derived from a set of relations of production that was being superseded. The fact that proponents of this

position may have had capital invested in a variety of schemes does not weaken our argument since the 'theory' remains a defence of the interests of a marginal strata.

In many respects, the king was heavily implicated in the position we have just outlined. Not surprisingly, he was far from being a supporter of the Reform Bill, on the contrary, William

doubted whether the danger of altering a constitution which 'worked' well in practice was not greater than the advantage; whether the respectable part of the country desired Reform; whether the preponderant representation of property was not reasonable; and whether the further popularisation of the House of Commons might not lead to a 'democracy in its worst form'.<sup>119</sup>

Further, it was already known by Ministers and suspected by many observers that the king would not create the necessary sixty peers to get the bill through the House of Lords because, according to William 'the evil' of the Lords' intransigence 'cannot be met by resorting to measures for obtaining a majority in the House of Lords which no Government could propose and no Sovereign consent to'.<sup>120</sup> The reasons for the king's opposition are not hard to locate; his economic interests lay in the retention of a House of Commons dominated by Tory nominees. Even so, the Civil List was always a contentious issue as William discovered when trying to raise funds for his illegitimate offspring; Wellington told him that 'with time and patience much might be done, but that it would not do to run any risks when H.M.'s Civil List was still unsettled'.<sup>121</sup> Nevertheless, the king's power was real enough and lay, in part, precisely with 'the fact that the salaries of judges, civil servants and others were charged upon this Civil List until 1831' making it 'a fruitful source of royal patronage'.<sup>122</sup> Thus the Whigs' opposition to the crown's autonomous exercise of power was made manifest by this alteration in charges on the Civil List, as William recognized, for he wrote more

than once during the financial discussions to protest against 'the systematic determination they [the Whig Ministry] betray to reduce the influence of the Crown, and to lower the dignity of the Monarchy'.<sup>123</sup> Despite such assaults on the royal power, 'the King's support still counted for a great deal in the parliamentary life of a ministry',<sup>124</sup> remarks Woodward, and it was not until 1834 that the sovereign, William still, exercised his prerogative of dismissing his ministers for the last time. It was, therefore, the recognition of the very real power of the sovereign, rather than attachment to an individual king, which made it so necessary for the protesters to emphasize their loyalty with effusive Addresses to William.

The complicity of the organizers with the Whigs might suggest that the government were not part of the target group. Two factors militate against this view 1) the unwillingness of the government to fulfill an assurance regarding the creation of the necessary number of peers to get the bill through Parliament and 2) the willingness to prepare a modified bill. It was clear to some before and obvious to most after the vote that, as F.M.L Thompson states of the premier, 'Grey had no intention of diluting the peerage by disregarding the estate rule'.<sup>125</sup> He went further by having little serious commitment to ennobling men outside the peerage for Grey's only concession was to raise up elderly and childless landowners into the House of Lords.<sup>126</sup> Once the bill had fallen, reformists outside parliament took steps to force the government's hand over the issues of creations and modification. Thus, after the meeting to found the NPU was over, Place and some of his allies had an unsatisfactory meeting with Grey and Lord Brougham, a Whig Minister, at which the impression was received that the government had no intention of creating new peers but rather the reverse and would seek for concili-

ation with their opponents.<sup>127</sup> This was accurate for, in a letter to the king's secretary, Grey stated 'the amount of the majority puts all notion of an attempt to counteract it by a further creation of Peers quite out of the question'.<sup>128</sup> In fact, the government seems to have been more committed to no creations than the bill which was hardly surprising given that it was the voice of the 'progressive' element in the governing class.

Notwithstanding these clashes of opinion, the Whig government were more than pleased to accept the 'support' of an orderly demonstration of 'respectable' men since whether they believed their own claims or not, the potential for unrest was constantly kept before the Tories and the king. Brougham, for example, intimated that he told 'the Duke [of Wellington] , and the Waverers, as Harrowby, Wharncliffe, and others were called, who desired a compromise' that it 'was impossible, when the country had taken up the cry of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill"'.<sup>129</sup> Grey went further, showing how useful the Metropolitan Parishes March was, for two days before it took place, he wrote 'I am persuaded that nothing can preserve the public peace but the continuation of the present Administration in office, with the confidence of the people in the sincerity of their resolution to a successful issue the cause which they have undertaken'.<sup>130</sup> However, the Whigs were not at all concerned about the interests of the lower middle and lower classes though an alliance, at this juncture, was not without its uses. The massively blue appearance of the demonstration made it manifestly, at least, (and this was all that was required) a pro-Whig, as well as a pro-Reform spectacle.

In practice, the function of the bill was to stabilize the interests of the landed aristocracy by enforcing some rationalization of



the distribution of power in the House of Commons. To achieve this reorganization, it was necessary to give the upper middle class definite areas in which they could legitimately establish and exercise power. In this, the ruling class succeeded for, as Webb points out, 'the composition of the House of Commons in 1833 was little different from what it was in 1831...there were no more businessmen in the first reformed Parliament that there had been before 1832'.<sup>131</sup> Stabilization also necessitated a reduction of the powers of the monarchy which rested on the traditional mode of distribution of power in the Commons. The Whigs wished to ensure stable government and, in the general sense, their object, as Lowes Dickinson emphasized, was 'to disfranchise all the boroughs which were most obviously open to sinister influences',<sup>132</sup> meaning both boroughs, such as Preston, whose wide franchise enabled Henry Hunt, a radical to be returned, as well as some of the rotten boroughs which could be bought by the upper bourgeoisie. These objects were achieved, as 'those who had the vote under the old privileges did not lose their right at once, but it died with them, and the non-residential franchises in a few boroughs like Preston, were at once abolished. So in these towns a working-class franchise disappeared, and the electorate, though larger, was confined to a narrower section of the nation'.<sup>133</sup>

There was one other reason why the Whigs were identified as the target group and this was to attract an important sector of the participants, namely the middle class. A number of reasons, to which we shall give consideration later, have been put forward as to why the middle and lower class people of London were so comparatively inactive during the campaign for the Reform Bill. However, we also need to enquire why, under these circumstances, so many turned out on 12 October. We will suggest that the legality of the demonstra-

tion was extremely important to the protestors themselves, in other words, this form of legitimation of the event was not merely a tenuous exercise. Thus John Hobhouse, a Benthamite MP, proclaimed from the platform of the Westminster Reform Meeting held on Monday afternoon that 'it is the duty of every Englishman to declare that he will use every legal means in his power to support any measure which his Majesty's Ministers may, in their wisdom, deem expedient to secure to the country, with the least possible delay, the exercise of those elective rights which a corrupt system of nomination has so long withheld from them'.<sup>134</sup> In this way, attendance at the demonstration was proclaimed a 'duty' thereby suggesting that it was mounted in order to satisfy the just demands of a legitimate government. Using this argument, the Whig ministry appeared to have every right to demand public expression of support for their bill which it was the duty of all (including the House of Lords) to obey.

#### IV

As has already been suggested, there were two ideological positions to be discerned in the spectacle. There was not, however, any question of their equal representation and, therefore, this section will be structured so as to reflect this. In discussing the subordinated belief system, we shall attempt to comment on some aspects of this inequality, in particular, the relationship between the two ideologies and the maintenance of the disparity in the actual imagery of the event. In the first place, we shall comment on some of the main ideological themes as they were dramatized at the spectacle.

Given the importance placed on manoeuvring within the terms outlined by the Whigs, it was not surprising that much of the effect derived from the enormous number of blue ribbons and scarves worn by

the demonstrators. It was, for example, already well established that political parties supplied large numbers of cockades to their supporters during election time. Thus what was, formally, a broad-based event, used as its principal means of identification a party colour since blue was that shade by which Whig supporters identified themselves. This use of party cockades was especially significant when it is borne in mind that political parties were by no means necessarily connected with the practice of bearing petitions to the court or parliament.

Within the context of constitutional and party legitimation, the first aim of the organizers was to form a demonstration to attest the loyalty of the protesters to the king, to which end they proceeded to St James's 'to present their addresses to the most deservedly beloved SOVEREIGN, whoever swayed the British sceptre'.<sup>135</sup> It was 'the frank, steady and undeviating manner in which His Majesty has given his confidence to his present Ministers' which 'excited' in the demonstrators 'the strongest feelings of loyalty, confidence and affection'.<sup>136</sup> Despite the profusion of compliments, the attitude toward both the monarchy, in general, and William IV, in particular, was far from favourable. As Lqwes Dickinson argues, ever since the middle of the eighteenth century, the influence of the crown in politics had been most strongly deprecated. To reformers, 'the American War was the clearest and most palpable example of the consequences to be feared from the personal influence of the Crown, but from that time onward the question was never dropped'.<sup>137</sup> In fact, according to the Whig reformers, the need for the reform of Parliament arose because of the excessive personal influence of the king.

However, the king was also proclaimed to be a great patriot, largely as a means of enhancing the patriotism of the demonstrators

themselves. To be patriotic, it is necessary, at least, to claim disinterested concern for the 'nation'. Any class claiming 'rights' in a class society, necessarily riven by opposing interests, will tend to argue that it is concerned for the good of all and further that the satisfaction of its demands would be beneficial to the whole country. (We shall find further examples of such universalizing later in the section.) As Joseph Hume put it to a meeting of Westminster reformers, 'they would act as became Britons and do justice to a patriotic King and liberal Ministry'. Later, in response to Hume's suggestion, 'the whole meeting stood uncovered for their good and patriot King' during the reading of the Address.<sup>138</sup> Despite emphasizing their 'patriotism', the parishioners were, in general, concerned with their own economic interests many of which were outlined in our discussion of the Parish Reform Associations.

The question of the relationship between the demonstrators and their monarch was a key theme and really underpinned many of the other beliefs held by the activists as we shall see. Basically, proposals for the future organization of Britain and the means whereby these changes might be effected, both of which hinged on the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the monarchy were articulated in the march. In this model of society, the crown was firmly fixed as an element in the power of the ruling class however much residues of disinterestedness prevailed in paternalistic rhetoric. Let us turn first to the images of change.

The be-crowned red caps of liberty borne in the procession referred to the 1830 French Revolution or rather to the profound effect of this event on the British middle class for, as Place recorded, 'this new Revolution produced a very extraordinary effect on the middle classes, and sent a vast number of persons to me with all sorts

of projects and propositions. Every one was glorified with the courage, the humanity, and the honesty of the Parisians'.<sup>139</sup> In fact, it took the Parisian working class three days to expel the increasingly autocratic Charles X and about the equivalent length of time for the middle class to establish Louis Philippe as King on the basis of a guaranteed limited monarchy, constitution and right to vote which was extended yet still attached to property rights. Many members of the British middle class began to make parallels between their situation and that which pertained in France and 'it actually moved many to consider whether something similar would not have to be done in Britain unless a reasonable measure of Parliamentary Reform were soon conceded'.<sup>140</sup> Thus, like the French, the British middle class made much of the idea of 'equality' between the middle and working classes for the duration of the 'revolution'/Reform campaign and the middle class and upper class/monarchy in any subsequent arrangements to be made. The spectacle also embraced a different definition of equality to which we shall return below.

As for the future, the demonstration emphasized its peacefulness in an attempt to suggest that support for an alternative set of privileges would guarantee the stability of the whole country. The theme of peace was carried through into the form of the march, for the overwhelming feeling one receives reading the accounts is of restrained, orderly citizens. This was, of course, a planned effect for, on the morning of the march, a leaflet distributed in Westminster urged marchers to 'be firm. Be peaceable'.<sup>141</sup> In part, this was self protection for it was known that troops would be available but chiefly it was to create a contrast between the participants and the 'Tory faction',<sup>142</sup> on one side and on the other, between the participants and more radical reformers.

The dramatization had both ethical and political components. Thus the maintenance of 'peace and order' meant ending the 'extravagance' and 'corruption' of the ruling class by countering with 'economy' and 'efficiency'. A class/section of a class challenging the rule of another class, as opposed to the actual system which is being ruled, tends to accuse the ruling class/elite of incompetence and portrays itself as both technically more competent and morally more suited to rule. In the present case, the slight redistribution of property, in favour of the middle class, would, it was proposed, have the wished for effect. The prominent Leeds reformer, Edward Baines predicted that the results of any such alteration would entail 'vast commercial and agricultural monopolies are to be abolished. The Church is to be reformed...Close Corporations are to be thrown open. Retrenchment and economy are to be enforced. The shackles of the Slave are to be broken'.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, the country could be stabilized through support for a securely constitutional monarchy, if the king affirmed support for bourgeois values such as 'firmness and constancy'.<sup>144</sup> The marchers were proudly conservative, Powell claimed. 'Englishmen are generally reluctant to make any attempt, unless they see an immediate prospect of success, but once they have made up their minds to an attempt they are more energetic in following it up'.<sup>145</sup> However, as Checkland points out, conservatism was 'the natural consequence' of being 'exposed to chance and to engineered pressures, doing a large part of the stock-holding of the community, though in small parcels'. In this way, economic interests led to the lower middle class acting as 'custodians of stability'. Moreover, this class was, so it proclaimed, eminently 'respectable' for, as Powell admitted, 'unless they see that the chances are greatly with them, the fear of encountering ridicule for making an abor-



tive effort damps their energies and prevents their acting'. Respectability was reduced to apathy except where immediate self interest was concerned and this 'obsessive conventionality' was 'necessary both to reassure their customers as to their business soundness and themselves as to their own situation'.<sup>146</sup> The parochial, apolitical stance promised by this class was founded on a notion of cheap government stemming, in part, from actual opposition to oligarchic rule and fear of the economic and social effect of autocracy.

It was a question of support for the existing social system which was the central theme of the day's events. For, although as we saw in the previous section, opposition to the measure was spread right through the ruling class, no criticisms were directed toward the upper bourgeoisie by the spectacle. The narrowness of the criticism led to strong identification being made with the City procession which cannot be solely explained as traditional since many customary practices were strongly condemned by the marchers, for example, attacks on anti-reformers' houses. This identification was also a mark of the saliency of the residue of real power which was symbolized by the procession. The mayoralty was gradually coming to assume a ceremonial function, not dissimilar to that of the crown, which was indicated by the continuance of dress derived from the time of the institution's greatest political might. The costumes of the officials derived almost entirely from the previous century during which their design and colour was set. In addition, many items of the insignia had been added to or replaced in the same century; for example, a new mace was supplied in 1755 and the staff of office was hallmarked in 1770. Further, a state coach was only built in 1757 as, up to that date, it had been hired and, until 1714, the Mayor, Aldermen and Sherriffs had ridden to events on horseback. The City

Marshal, who was no longer responsible either for the policing of the City and/or the supervision of the inhabitants' military contribution which had devolved to the state several centuries previously, was also clad in eighteenth century military uniform. As for the dress of many of the Lord Mayor's household, it consisted of a mixture of fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth century clothing because the posts, being concerned with personal protection, were now purely ceremonial.

Apart from identification with the upper bourgeoisie, the spectacle was also shaped by opposition to the increasing centralization of the state. Thus much of the complaint by parishioners hinged on excessive spending on church buildings and a large part of the vehemence of reformers was directed towards the Bishops in the House of Lords, for 'if the hostility to the lay peers was bitter and almost personal, it was nothing to that against the Bishops'.<sup>147</sup> However, whilst only groans were directed at the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the police were actually subject to physical attacks on the day of the demonstration. Assaults on the police were not unique to this event, but their time and place i.e. around half past four in St James's Square, suggest that, at least, some of the assailants were but lately protesters. Powell claimed 'not a single disorder was committed by the persons composing the procession', yet Prothero emphasizes that the Parish Reform Associations were, as part of their commitment to efficiency, specifically opposed to a Police Force. Hence it would seem in certain cases at that juncture, the police were not seen as neutral defenders of 'law and order' but an arm of the burgeoning state threatening the money and personal freedom of the protestors.

The outline for the future also involved the matter of the place

of the working class in the schema to which we shall now devote some attention. Broadly, the organizers were committed to exploiting the support for reform in order to forge new alliances in the interests of the bourgeoisie. Apart from the activity around the NPU to which we have referred above, they were quite happy to invite the support of large sections of the lower class movement. As a result, two organizers - Powell and Savage - both active in their local Reform Associations, advocated support by the working class for the bill because it was 'a first step to the more perfect reform' contemplated.<sup>148</sup>

Yet there was no platform of attack, by the chief proponents of total and uncritical support for the bill, on existing property rights, such as would be necessary to undermine the power of the landowners who, by reason of wealth, dominated the House of Commons, too. Further evidence of tendentiousness on the part of many of the organizers may be found in the deliberate 'boxing-in' of working class organizations by joint police, government and organizer action. Apart from the police response, to which reference was made earlier, the actual presence of radical leaders was denied by Place, at least, who protested that 'there was not one of the leaders of the NUWC in the procession'.<sup>149</sup> Yet John Savage was known to Place as was William Carpenter, another NUWC activist who argued for critical support of the reform movement in the Political Magazine which he edited.

In general, the press made sure that, even if any group other than the Parish Reform Associations had managed to get through the police cordon, they would not be remarked upon. The Sun, after listing the various parishes, finished by remarking that 'these were the whole of the parishes that we noticed in the procession' (my emphasis) and The Times was equally cagey concluding 'there were several large bodies of men from other parishes but at the time they passed we were

at too great a distance to observe the names on the banners'.<sup>150</sup>

It would appear, therefore, that not only did the government exploit the middle class for its own interest but the organizers were not slow in apeing their 'masters'.

Thus, in terms of arguments for the future reorganization of the social system, the organizers were implicitly putting the lower class under the authority of the middle class since it was clear that the bill could only benefit the latter. In other words, the working class were being invited to assist with another class' battle. As a result, whilst unity between the participants was recognized to be essential because, as the banner of the parish of St Marylebone proclaimed, 'Union is Strength', this was purely tactical. We come back, too, to the emblems and slogans of the French Revolution which were easy to take up for they were still part of radical currency in Britain. These long-standing battle cries of working-class radicals had not changed because their aims were not significantly different from those first adopted in the 1790s when Jacobinism informed their political ideology. Because no theory had been formed to fully explain class relations, political practice did not rest on the need to change existing property distribution. Moreover, the working-class radicals also responded positively to the changes which took place in France, so, for example, throughout the autumn of 1830, the Jacobin Penny Papers for the People called for the old platform of demands which included an end to hereditary rule and monopolies and advocacy of equal representation and a property tax. Similarly, the old emblem - the tricolour - reappeared on the arms of supporters such as George Edmunds, who, subsequently, opposed the Reform Bill on the grounds that it did not include the Rotunda Platform.<sup>151</sup> Thus, because the working-class movement in this count-

ry was vulnerable to symbolic 'rights', the promoters of the march had little need to fear that the presence of the colours and slogans of 'revolution' would undermine their control over the working class. The same may be said of the presence of the Lord Mayor's procession for popular though the city fathers may have been with the lower class when it came to action, they demonstrated clearly to whom they really owed their allegiance. Thus Matthew Wood, one of the Aldermen vociferously cheered had actually been mayor at the time of the suppression of the Spa Fields riots.

Nevertheless, the persistence of such symbols like unity, equality, white, black and the laurel, mark the presence of a remnant representing an alternative, far less articulated set of beliefs within the spectacle. For there were precedents in the use of white favours and laurel as well as the black flags which all harked back to the pro-reform events of the years immediately after the Napoleonic War; in particular, Henry Hunt's triumphal entry into London after Peterloo when laurel and white were amongst the emblems of the enormous march.<sup>152</sup> St Marylebone inhabitants, as well as people drawn from further afield had attended a vast meeting the Monday preceding the Metropolitan Parishes March sporting white and laurel. Memories were particularly long in this district because, as a result of a slightly wider suffrage than was typical, St Marylebone along with St Pancras and Paddington had elected a radical MP in 1807 and had been doing so ever since. And it was the Marylebone section of the march whose banners proclaimed 'Equal Rights' and 'Unity is Strength', central themes of lower-class beliefs.

As we have already seen when discussing golden-ageism, the lower class placed great importance on the notions of an independent self-supporting worker in an equalitarian society.<sup>153</sup> Perkin also emphas-

izes the extreme ambiguity of these beliefs so that 'an equalitarian society', he suggests, 'could mean a merely political democracy or a socialist utopia'. There was a similar range in the meanings lying behind the concept of working-class co-operation which could be anything 'from friendly societies and trade clubs for mitigating the worst effects of competition to the primitive communism of Owen's parallelograms or the socialist commonwealth achieved by the general strike'.<sup>154</sup> Thompson, in his discussion of the senses, **for workers, embodied in the vote** links it up with the populist trend identified by Perkin. Thus 'it implied', he claims 'égalité: equality of citizenship, personal dignity, worth'. Similarly, he shows the link with the socio-economic aspects of the belief for the vote also embodied 'a new way of reaching out by the working people for social control over their conditions of life and labour'.<sup>155</sup> It would appear that support for the vote was the converging point of a subordinate ideology which drew upon a tradition and suggested aspirations for the future. However, in the symbolization of the march, the presence of the working class had a different connotation. Marching as the lower class did under the banners of an organization which was dominated by the reform ideology outlined above, their support for the demonstration should probably be seen as a mark of incorporation by the middle class.

As will be seen from the above, the pro-reform protesters, at this demonstration, operated within a definite set of assumptions about human nature, the past and political practice in general. Individuals, it was assumed, were self-contained units free to act as they determined and thus able to discount social prescriptions. Similarly, structured determinations were not recognized.<sup>156</sup> Nevertheless, there were certain 'rights' connected to inherent human



characteristics, such as 'freedom' and 'equality' and sustained on the 'natural' respect for property, which were associated with the inevitable membership of a social system. But some protesters believed that as Parliament legislated for all, not just property owners, each adult male must be able to have his interests represented. In the past, before the 'illegitimate' rule of aristocracy, such had been the case, yet the 'restitution' was necessary, not simply to return to previous social relations, but, so as to enforce changes.<sup>157</sup> The protesters were offering an extension to 'free rights' in the guise of cheaper, less centralized government and the breakup of large land monopolies. Capital was to have free play to end tyranny both in Parliament and on the streets. 'Order' would end riot and 'justice' would make it unnecessary to take to mass public action. Yet, in the pursuit of such ends, public protests were both a 'right' and a necessity for the good of 'all'/the 'nation'. In the middle ranks lay, it was claimed, both the ability and disinterestedness to lead, but not exploit, the working class so that both they, the middle and ruling classes should be secure in their 'rights'. The Reform Bill and the existing Ministry would not just lay the basis for these developments, but actually supply them. The bill contained all the necessary principles and practices permitting the smooth transition to adult suffrage. No timetable or method whereby these goals were to be achieved was hinted at and, as can be seen when comparing belief in the completeness of the powers contained in the bill with notions on bourgeois rule, this contradiction was fundamental.

Omissions of this nature help to locate the ideology within a more general tradition; the notion of human nature placed it squarely in classical liberalism. As Hobsbawm states,

for classical liberalism, the human world consisted of self-contained individual atoms with certain built-in passions and drives, each seeking above all to maximize his satisfactions and minimize his dissatisfactions, equal in this to all others, and 'naturally' recognizing no limits or rights of interference with his urges. In other words, each man was 'naturally' possessed of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. 158

Furthermore, "man"...was a social animal only in so far as he existed in large numbers. Social aims were therefore the arithmetical sum of individual aims'. 159 The 'metaphysical sanction of a "natural right"' was used to safeguard private property, enterprise and individual freedom whose unchecked pursuit would produce a 'natural' social order. As Hobsbawm goes on to explain, 'progress was therefore as "natural" as capitalism' requiring only the removal of 'aristocratic vested interests, obscurantism, tradition, or ignorant meddling'. 160 Yet 'middle-class confidence in the triumph of capitalism was much greater than confidence in the political supremacy of the bourgeoisie over absolutism or the ignorant mob'. 161 Middle-class uncertainty was reflected in the use of naturalistic concepts to sanction utilitarian claims. The urge and, indeed, need to both justify and account for developing capitalist practices produced utilitarianism, a modification of classical liberalism. Its emphasis is on rationalization and 'the positive role that the legislator and the state must play in reconciling conflicting interests'. 162 was an important means whereby the middle class committed itself to Parliamentary reform. Yet, in politics, at the theoretical level, 'the shock-troops of British middle-class reform' remained divided between utilitarianism and the belief in natural law and right and, in its practical programme, between commitment to 'popular' government and rule by a propertied elite. Calls for 'equality' and aping of the 1830 French Revolution denoted the presence of a diminished form of the petty-bourgeois radical ideology derived from the

Rousseau-informed Jacobins. But, as Hobsbawm points out, 'the year 1830, which marks the revival of the major West-European revolutionary movement after the quiescence of the Waterloo period, also marks the beginning of the crisis of the middle-class liberal and petty-bourgeois radical ideologies'.<sup>163</sup> In particular, in this context, were 'the Girondins and Jacobins of France in 1830, 1848 and after' who were 'pygmies compared to their ancestors of 1789-94'.<sup>164</sup>

It may be seen from the above that the ideology presented by the organizers prior to 12 October and on that day by the demonstrators was a radicalization of the existing bourgeois ideology since the protesters, in challenging aristocratic rule, were making themselves part of a new departure for the class which, up to this time, had been typically self-confident only with regard to economic claims. Arguments in favour of extensive change in the existing system presented to working-class supporters were, in the main, either tendentious or, at the least, a demonstration of the effectiveness of ideology on its perpetuators. The Reform Bill offered a slight modification of rule and this was, in reality, acceptable to the protesters. The consequences of the bill tended to support this view since the new electors helped return men from aristocratic backgrounds and resisted the Chartists' claims. As for the economic demands, they never were directed to alleviating working-class discontent and the passing of the Poor Law in 1834 merely served as confirmation. Nevertheless, the Reform Bill demonstration was gathered under the banner of a 'progressive' ideology, because the marchers demanded greater opportunities for social development and, as Hobsbawm declares, 'let it not be supposed that the men who held such views were mere special pleaders for the vested interest of businessmen', for 'they were men who believed, with considerable historical justification at

this period, that the way forward for humanity was through capitalism'.<sup>165</sup> The rejection of a largely traditional system of sinecure and patronage in favour of systematic government was a considerable advance. The demonstrators demanded the 'right' to vote proposing, as the criteria, not only property ownership but qualities such as intelligence, loyalty and so forth. Moreover, they claimed the 'right' to be responsible for government, passivity with regard to structural concerns was deemed immoral. Similarly, not only was the existing oligarchy's capacity to rule in dispute, but more generalized notions about fitness for the exercise of power. It was suggested that moral qualities, alone, might be as appropriate a yardstick.

V

In the previous section, we touched upon some of the leading features of the means whereby the claims put forward by the organizers were justified. We shall now expand on some of the key elements in the hope of explaining how, on the ideological level, the spectacle was made possible. We have already referred to one aspect, namely the connection between mobilization of the lower middle-class participants and the existence of a pro-reform government. The attendant aspect of this feature was the response given by the Whig ministry to the event.

The organizers directed their demands to William IV because, as we saw, the sovereign still retained the power to intervene in the state, although the answer to the petitions presented at the Levée actually emanated from the government. We should, therefore, examine this statement as a convergence of the will of the king and the government. Briefly, it argued that only legal support would be accepted and, therefore, explicitly rejected any organization, such

as the Rotundaists. Secondly, no alteration to the status quo would be entertained, so no rights would be provided for those who were not, at least, householders. Thirdly, it confirmed that peace and order were essential meaning, in effect, any group/class whose injustices could not be articulated through the established structures would be criminalized. Now, in many respects, this was a more forthright enunciation of what the organizers, prior to and during the procession, emphasized. We have remarked in the previous section on the convergence of interests with regard to the exclusion of the ultra-radicals and questions regarding the distribution of property, consequently we will concentrate here on matters surrounding the issue of 'legality'. One important aspect was the change over the preceding thirty years between the 'mob' and the ruling class. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the governing class had not infrequently mobilized riotous crowds against their enemies. Yet now the wealthy were more fearful of the much-enlarged city crowd which was also less economically dependant on the upper class. Likewise, elections were another area of diminishing interest in traditional modes of confrontation of the ruling class. Buying voters and the support of the non-voting lower class was becoming too expensive and was tending to help in out-pricing the aristocracy for, as Woodward pointed out, 'the increasing cost of elections and the rise in the price of boroughs were favouring rich financiers at the expense of the landed aristocracy'.<sup>166</sup> Law and order was something of an obsession with the middle class because of its cost and as a means of separating themselves from the street-activities of the lower class as well as establishing themselves as technically and morally more proficient than the ruling class.

'Law and order' was only one aspect of the invocation of legalism



ty by the organizers for it underpinned all legitimation of the event. Firstly, it underlined the 'moderateness' of the claims being made because other parties were also urged to implement the law, suggesting that the parishioners' rights were legitimate because, in some sense, they were already embodied within the legal system. Hence the king and his ministers were urged to use 'legal means'. Legality meant the acceptance of a whole body of law, most of which, as Hay has emphasized, was 'concerned with the civil dealings which propertied men had with one another'.<sup>167</sup> But urging the legitimacy of the demonstration on the basis of Constitutional 'rights', also meant emphasizing the illegitimacy of existing aristocratic rule and, in particular, the House of Lords' decision regarding the reform bill. Should 'the Reverend Bench still contend that reform is unnecessary' after the procession, The Sun suggested 'that they are fitter inmates for Bedlam than the House of Peers'.<sup>168</sup> In a more serious vein, the Clerkenwell Reform Society argued that the Upper House was 'unworthy the confidence of the country',<sup>169</sup> because their irresponsibility 'filled' the St Bride's parishioners, for example, 'with alarm for its probable consequences'.<sup>170</sup> Powell, too, was quite clear that a threat would have to be made to the Tories, but they were presented as a 'faction' and the complaint was with outrageous individual 'illegitimate' rewards. The degree to which this conception of the faults of a faction were responsible for the plight of the unrepresented may be illustrated by the concentration of attacks both verbal and physical during the spectacle on individuals connected with legislation. Consequently, although there was a sizeable city lobby opposed to the bill, there do not appear to have been attacks on bankers or merchants.

In addition to justifying the demands for parliamentary reform



by referring to moral superiority and vague legal rights, a more specific call was made to satisfy the terms of the Constitution. Hence the activists and participants were urged by The Sun to make sure the spectacle took place 'within the limits prescribed by the laws and the Constitution'.<sup>171</sup> Further, the paper went on to argue, it was 'a constitutional duty' to 'peacefully assemble' in an attempt to convince the anti-reformers of 'the people's' commitment to reform. Invoking the Constitution was a popular sport and had been since the accessions of William and Mary because, as Hay points out, 'the Glorious Revolution of 1688 established the freedom - not of men but of men of property'.<sup>172</sup> So broad a 'freedom' encouraged widely diverse political interests to call upon the Constitution from ultra-rightists, like Lord Eldon, the Tory ex-Chancellor, through to the reformers, who attempted to legitimate their demands for electoral changes on the basis of respect for the Constitution. Affirmation of support for the Constitution was then in one sense a general statement of loyalty, but also confirmed that property rights, not Rights of Men were at stake. For, as Hay goes on to emphasize, after the 'Glorious Revolution', 'among triumphant Whigs, and indeed all men on the right side of the great gulf between rich and poor, there was little pretence that Civil Society was concerned primarily with peace or justice or charity. Even interests of state and the Divine Will had disappeared. Property had swallowed them all'.<sup>173</sup> Thus, now that Divine Right had been superseded, the authority of the Constitution was absolute leaving all established authority to be legitimated on its basis.

Moreover, constitutional practice, not enshrined in the 1688 Settlement but which had, supposedly, existed in the past, were resurrected. The idea that, in calling for reform, participants were demanding the 'restitution of political rights' was by no means new..

In 1780, the Committee of Westminster reformers demanded the 'restitution' of equal representation, annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, all of which rights 'were substantially enjoyed in the times of the immortal Alfred'.<sup>174</sup> In fact, the argument about ancient pre-Norman liberties was, as Webb points out, an old one having its origins in the early seventeenth century.<sup>175</sup> The suggestion that in the 'past' representation had been more democratic did have some basis in fact since, alongside the elevation of the Constitution to sacred status, by reactionary ideologues such as Burke and Blackstone, in the eighteenth century, had gone considerable changes in the suffrage consequent upon manoeuvres by wealthy patrons. As a result, Webb explains, 'some boroughs had begun to create honorary freemen, an expensive but useful way of padding the rolls of voters at election time' and, in rotten or pocket boroughs, i.e. those in which the franchise was vested in the owners of certain pieces of property, 'by 1760 most of them were owned by one man, who himself could return the two members'.<sup>176</sup> However what was probably more significant was the change in the distribution of wealth since the end of the Napoleonic War which had seen a steady expansion in property held by the bourgeoisie. It was at this point, too, that democratic arguments could be entertained by the restless middle class. As C.B Macpherson has pointed out, 'the concept of a liberal democracy became possible only when theorists - first a few and then most liberal theorists - found reasons for believing that "one man, one vote" would not be dangerous to property, or to the continuance of class-divided societies'.<sup>177</sup> Thus increasing wealth made the notion of restitution of rights both more feasible and more desirable to the bourgeoisie.

In rejecting many of the arguments symbolized by the spectacle,

Henry Hetherington, editor of the Poor Man's Guardian, defined the constitutional question as one of 'expediency' in order to block 'innovation'; to corroborate his claim he pointed to the popular favourite, Brougham, who remarked, when urging approval of the Reform Act that, in passing it, the House of Lords would help in 'restoring the old fabric of the representative system'.<sup>178</sup> 'Restoration' meaning the return to the 'real' principles of the Constitution, was a fundamental part of the bid for legitimacy and denoted a concern for the past as much as for the future. As Lowes Dickinson pointed out, 'the change was regarded as one of detail, not one of principle; in no sense a subversion of the constitution, but merely its adaptation to new conditions'.<sup>179</sup> Hence consent would be given by the middle class to aristocratic rule with the proviso that its hegemony would be broken by the grant of certain political rights to smaller, non-landowning, property holders. Both the radicals and the reformers termed their opponents the 'faction' but, for the former, it delineated the upper and middle classes, regardless of the position they adopted with regard to the Reform Bill whilst, for the latter, the gibe was reserved for the landed proprietors.<sup>180</sup> It was, then, a symbolic claim of legitimate domination since the spectacle defined the limits beyond which the participants would not press. Nonetheless, it was still a vigorous statement of the power of a class whose interests could not be ignored.

## VI

It seems clear that the participants were overwhelmingly drawn from the ranks of 'respectable housekeepers, shop-keepers and superior artizans',<sup>181</sup> as Powell claimed. Unfortunately, as Thompson declares, 'there were great differences of degree concealed within the

term, "artisan", from the prosperous master-craftsman, employing labour on his own account and independent of any masters, to the sweated garret labourers'.<sup>182</sup> Thus we are, in fact, dealing with a crowd consisting of both middle- and lower-class men. The information we have regarding the membership of both the NPU and NUWC confirms this for, apart from the professional membership of the NPU, both employers and employees from a variety of trades were active in the two organizations. Although it would be beyond our brief to comment on factors contributing to the presence of representatives of all the trades listed on the ballot sheet for the NPU executive, we shall pick out some particularly striking features. Firstly, as Rowe remarks, 'there was surprisingly little difference between the occupations of working- and middle-class members of the council of the Political Union'.<sup>183</sup> It is clear that in a significant number of London trades, political alignments between employer and employee were possible. In tailoring and shoemaking, for example, there was representation on the NPU list. Prothero points out that 'the real basis of artisan radicalism lay among trades lower down in the hierarchy, especially shoemakers, tailors, plasterers, carpenters and stonemasons'.<sup>184</sup> Thompson confirms the long radical tradition within the shoemaking and tailoring trades, adding that amongst them were many small masters who thought of their businesses in terms of providing a living rather than seeking to expand. Nonetheless, divisions did exist for in 1831, there was a strong combination as there had been for nearly twenty years and a new breed of employer, the middleman who used sweated outworkers, was becoming more powerful. Shoemaking was in a similar state of flux for skilled men were already undermined by the new workshops whose semi-skilled, non-unionized labour produced cheap and inferior goods.

Other trades who were represented did not face these particular difficulties. Porters, for example, were a group that 'came under the particular surveillance of the City authorities, and who maintained a privileged position within the ocean of unskilled labour until the middle of the nineteenth century'.<sup>185</sup> Likewise, coachbuilding comprised a complicated hierarchy of labour based on customary, non-economic, skill divisions. They had managed to maintain their position, even after the slump of 1826 and were still much in demand.<sup>186</sup> In these cases, we have examples of artisans who did not accept the superiority of mental labour nor of the small businessman for, as Thompson asserts 'the old elite [of labour] was made up of master-artisans who considered themselves as "good" as masters, shopkeepers, or professional men'.<sup>187</sup> The artisan participants may then be roughly grouped into artisans, small masters and manufacturers/middlemen.

We shall turn now to the question of the mobilization of the entire artisan grouping as well as the shopkeepers. The main spark activating the parishioners appears to have been the peers' decision in the House of Lords on the previous Saturday. It would appear that in London the speed and social comprehensiveness of the response to the Lord's decision came about primarily, because of the shared attitude toward the landed aristocracy. This anger was the 'trigger', as Rudé terms it to rapid action but could only work because of the deep, long-standing and traditional nature of the opposition.<sup>188</sup> Powell's account of responses to the news of the rejection tends to confirm this. On the morning of 8 October, he happened to be travelling to Gravesend by steamer and was compelled by the passengers, as he was the only possessor of a newspaper, to mount a chair and read it aloud. He particularly remarked on 'the denunciations aga-



inst the Bishops' which 'were fearful'.<sup>189</sup> The issue of the hegemony of the landed aristocracy was a long-standing complaint of many groups who did not necessarily accept the main contentions of the dominant reform ideology. For example, Prothero mentions two different sections who abhorred aristocratic rule - the artisan radicals who condemned aristocratic government, sinecures and pensions and the 'mob' whose hatred of the Lords was a tradition.

In particular, the economic instability threatened by prolonged political confrontation would have been a crucial element in the calculation of small businessmen, especially those in the retail trade and family businesses, both of whom were unable to call on wealthy investors and were, therefore, dependant on credit which would not be forthcoming in difficult times. In London, this was likely to have been especially important for there was no large industry but rather an enormous number of small businesses, included in which were the shops devoted to the luxury trade characteristic of a great capital city. Thus the petty bourgeoisie were already involved in economic practices which could only take place in a stable capitalist system, yet as Checkland explains, 'many members of the lower-middle class, as they sought income and identity in their task of distributing the growing flood of goods and services, were without strategic advantage of any kind'.<sup>190</sup> Hence, we can see that shutting shop could be a mark of support for the political objectives as well as concern for the security of one's property at one and the same time. Yet it seems likely that the action of the House of Lords had profound symbolic implications for the whole of the middle class for until the summer of 1831, they had not been deeply engaged in the battle for the Reform Bill. Rowe suggests that their relative apathy may have been a product of their poor relationship with the politically



aware among the working classes.<sup>191</sup> However, it may be more useful to see this isolation as a product of the pursuit of class-specific interests associated with the middle class' identification of themselves as ratepayers first and foremost. Consequently, we may speculate that the tendency to rely on the parliamentary process would be enforced by the presence of pro-parish reform MPs representing London in the House of Commons. In fact, reliance on this method was not a totally unreasonable strategy since it was vindicated in the passing of the Parish Vestry Bill, so much desired by Londoners, in October, 1831. And, finally, as regards the relative indifference of the lower class, apart from those who ignored the issue as a result of adopting one of a choice of analyses which argued that it was a question between the middle and upper class, one other factor strikes us as being significant. The London trade unions were largely uninvolved in the whole movement for the absence of their activists was striking. This has two implications, one of which we shall comment upon below. However, Thompson suggests that 'where a skill was involved, the artisan was as much concerned with maintaining his status as against the unskilled man as he was in bringing pressure upon the employers. Trade unions which attempted to cater for both the skilled and unskilled in the same trade are rare before 1830'.<sup>192</sup> It seems, therefore, that it required an extraordinary situation to arise before these workers could be torn away from their principal concern, competition from the unskilled.

The other evidence for suggesting that skill was a primary organizing factor was the low female presence on the streets. Remarking on the disparity in numbers between men and women tends to suggest atypicality. Women clearly had been and would continue to be involved in demonstrations but not in this particular event. The reasons

no doubt are various but we shall concentrate on two possible causes 1) their absence from skilled work outside family businesses and 2) the ideology of female domestication. Many working-class women may well not have been employed outside their homes, for as Duncan Crow points out, 'in 1841, when the first census of the new reign was taken, the percentage of women and girls in employment in Great Britain was 22.9'.<sup>193</sup> Unfortunately, it is not clear how far this figure takes account of women who assisted in the family business, although their exclusion from the census might be seen as additional evidence for the effectiveness of ideological claims regarding women's role - the 'respectability' of the family being enhanced by the apparent, even if not actual, idleness of the women of the family. In those cases where women were wage earners, they were less likely to be engaged in trades union activity because women's unionization lagged behind that of men. Furthermore, as Rowbotham points out, 'in London much of the work women did was seasonal'<sup>194</sup> and, according to Crow, by 1841, 'the chief occupation for an employed woman in Britain was to be a domestic servant',<sup>195</sup> consigning the majority of female employees to what must be the least likely occupation for unionization to occur. On the second point, namely the ideology of female domestication, this view of a 'woman's place' which was developing from the 1820s was directed, in the main, toward the working and middle classes. The 'immorality' prevailing on the streets was of especial concern to the middle class for, as Crow remarks, 'the respectables were always conscious of the roughs lurking in the alleys'.<sup>196</sup> Whilst it is fair to acknowledge the degree of street violence prevailing in large cities, there was another important element in this idea. The economic instability of the middle class has already been remarked upon but 'when the men had achieved this

middle class by their financial or professional status, the responsibility for demonstrating that they had achieved it and for maintaining them socially in this slippery position was the women's. To do this they adopted certain rules, rituals and symbols to distinguish them from the lower part of the population'.<sup>197</sup> An example of such 'rules, rituals and symbols' was the prescription for decorous behaviour in the streets and avoidance of any 'danger', moral as well as physical. In fact, 'respectable' women would hardly choose to go into the street except for the purpose of getting to another place equally as secure as their own home - there was no duty to be pursued in the street itself. However, the great emphasis placed on respectability was not confined to the middle class, as many workers placed the same premium on the modest public behaviour of wives and daughters. For those artisans in the better paid and more secure trades, their superiority could not be divorced from the conventions of the times.

The almost total consensus amongst the participants regarding the appropriate behaviour for the spectacle was an important factor in assuring the success of the event, for the NPU was founded largely as a result of the enthusiasm generated by the march. And, although it did not outlive the passing of the Reform Bill the following summer, the society was a vital factor in the run-up to that event when the London middle class (including the upper bourgeoisie) were activated. Then, as Brock remarks, the Anti-Corn Law movement learned from the Reform campaign and, indeed, 'the League used the techniques of 1830-2 and improved on most of them'.<sup>198</sup> This development could only take place because the campaign successfully articulated an ideology calculated to win support and reach the target groups. It would be quite inappropriate to isolate the parishioners' march and

see it as something unique in the Reform campaign. Nevertheless, it contains important elements relevant to a symbolic display of the power of the middle class in the early- to mid-nineteenth century. Firstly, the spectacle was structured so as to enhance commitment to established institutions which was why the participants were gathered in ranks behind the parish officials. Secondly, the presence of large numbers of carriages was a vital feature in establishing the wealth of the spectacle. Then the dramatization of attitudes was properly controlled so as to achieve a staged effect, hence prescribed. deference was displayed to the Mayoralty as well as MPs. Further, no military colour was allowed to intrude so as to properly substantiate claims of peaceful intentions. All these features meant the march was qualitatively different from other processions legitimated by the traditions associated with presentations of petitions. This was a spectacle of a class which was content to work within the existing system. Thus it was accepted that the lower class should be subordinated and controlled. The planning and enactment all pointed to this feature which was to become the staple element of future middle class spectacle. Exclusion and incorporation were the themes of the procession. The presence of the lower class was welcomed but their interests were not dramatized. Their disorganization and inability to focus their demands was exploited and became the backdrop to the march proper. The established press was used in a manner consistent with this scheme, it helped define the areas of accepted themes for the event thereby defining legitimate concepts as well as their cultural expression. Further, the press excluded special groups from mention and incorporated and reinterpreted certain notions which conflicted with those which were intended to be dominant. In other words, the focus was on behind-the-scenes man-

oeuvering. But this manipulation was of a different order to that of the ruling class for, in contrast to them, the middle class could claim to be the souls of tenderness and delicacy. The reason lay in their rejection of repression and visibility as major themes for spectacle, instead, a universalizing project based on efficiency and freedom was offered.

If we examine the campaign for repeal of the Corn Laws, many of these points should become clearer. Firstly, as Brock argues, a number of lessons learnt in the earlier struggle were utilized, 1) combination of parliamentary and mass pressure, 2) exploitation of the press and 3) utilization of spectacle. However, the fundamental difference was that the Anti-Corn Law League was a centralized, national organization with full-time paid workers systematically applying a strategy, openly and within legal constraints. Thus parliamentary and mass pressure was transformed into a focus on electors and elections with distributions of specially selected material to all voters.<sup>199</sup> Similarly, there were campaigns to get free traders to buy qualifications and remove protectionists from the electoral roll.<sup>200</sup> In the latter case, co-ordinated mailings choked the Post Office.<sup>201</sup> Again, there were secret ties with civil servants and organized work by free trading MPs.<sup>202</sup> In many respects, the use made of the press paralleled that of the government earlier in the century, hence bribes in cash were offered for favourable accounts of the association. However, the free traders also contracted to take bundles of papers indicating how technical advances enabling more to be printed helped dictate strategy. Spectacle production was enhanced by systematizing the links between the middle and working classes as much as possible. Thus working-class Anti-Corn Law Associations were subsidized and, in certain cases, employers used



pressure to ensure enrolment and/or petition signing.<sup>203</sup>

The ideological formulation of these policies may be found in the now assured universalizing claim of the leadership, as Chaloner observes.

The leaders of the powerful agitation in the 1830s and 1840s freely and unashamedly admitted that repeal was in their own economic interests as producers and exporters, but also claimed that repeal would benefit the mass of lower-income consumers who had been, since the abolition of the wartime income tax in 1816, the victims of a highly regressive system of indirect taxation operating through customs and excise duties. From these positions it became easy to represent the Repeal of the Corn Laws as a national necessity.<sup>204</sup>

As part of this self-confidence, an elitist structure was barely shielded by formal elections. Hence Council membership was automatically granted to those who subscribed more than £50 to the ACCL.<sup>205</sup>

It was also quite consistent with this over-arching scheme that subsidy and overt manipulation of the working class should be formalized. Furthermore, the fact that the whole organization was geared to fund raising was possible because it could operate openly and appeal to an audience with sufficient surplus cash to support a venture of that size. This also meant that spectacle and cash blended in with spectacle and capital. Thus at one level, there were enormous fund-raising rallies in Manchester at which thousands were promised to the cause in the course of an evening.<sup>206</sup>

However the real innovation and break with the past may be found in spectacles such as the enormous bazaar held at Covent Garden, the organizer of which assisted in mounting the Great Exhibition some six years later.<sup>207</sup>

As we noted in Chapter Two, the great emphasis on quantity of consumer items is the distinguishing feature of the fully-fledged spectacle of the bourgeoisie. Events such as these rest on the basis of incorporation and exclusion of the working class as well as the dominance of bourgeois culture over that of the landed interests.



## CHAPTER SIX

### IN CONCLUSION

In the conclusion , we do not attempt to summarize the main points of the many issues touched upon in the previous chapters, as to do so adequately implies almost rewriting the thesis. Rather, we turn our attention to some questions which, up till now, we have had to push to one side being issues of a general nature, somewhat peripheral to the primary theme of the study. Two of the areas we discuss are concerned with the contributions of scholars working in related disciplines. A consideration of symbolic fields as analyzed by certain social anthropologists constitutes section one, whilst the third section is taken up by questions relating to the sociology of culture. Using the example of the camp meeting, in the middle section, we treat more specifically of the status of spectacles whose articulation of power is implicit, rather than overt.

#### I

We shall begin then with a brief consideration of the contribution made by Victor Turner and some of his associates to the analysis of certain kinds of social event. In the first place, it has been widely acknowledged that Turner's conception of the ritual symbol as multivocal or polysemous has considerable explanatory value.<sup>1</sup> From his perspective, it has been possible to develop the notion of symbols as referents to a variety of different conceptual fields, whilst any one can contain associations whose time scales need not be coexistent. Indeed, one may go further and adopt Firth's view that 'strictly speaking there are no symbolic objects - there are only symbolic relationships '<sup>2</sup> i.e. it is 'the conceptualization of the object in a given relationship that is signifi-

cant', thus removing any possibility of objects having any meaning outside that granted by human interaction. Secondly, I wish to acknowledge the utility of the notion 'political field' by which Turner means the 'totality of relationships between actors oriented to the same prize or values'<sup>3</sup> included in which are the symbols and myths associated with such orientation. Bracketing symbolic and instrumental activity in this way is a potentially valuable means whereby political ceremonies may be examined. There are other areas where Turner's work is suggestive, for example the attempt to explain how a failed endeavour can become translated into a successful myth, although I would take issue with the psychoanalytic solution proposed.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps an alternative way to explain transformations of failure and success would be to take up another emphasis in Turner's work, namely that social is not the same as social structural so as to see the formation of a pervasive myth as the product of forces operating within the same 'political field' and thus include both institutionalized and informal relationships. In this way, the Peterloo meeting, for example, which was a failure, could be seen as contributing to success because cultural forms and political interests coalesced in the rally, Hunt's entry into London and subsequent trials. This was possible because residual and potential power in the shape of interests, symbols and so forth with varying rates of development remained activated. Again, in the elevation of the Highlanders into the dominant symbolization of Scottish nationhood during George IV's visit to Edinburgh, we can see evidence of Turner's suggestion that structural inferiority can act as a value bearer for an entire society.<sup>5</sup>

However, the other much-used dichotomy developed by Turner, namely the division of social life into *communitas* and structure is

somewhat problematic.<sup>6</sup> In the first place, the use of the term *communitas* is so wide-ranging, it is not clear exactly what level of human solidarity it is meant to designate. Certainly, Turner has endeavoured to account for these difficulties by introducing various models of *communitas*, for example, existential and normative.<sup>7</sup> In this way the term(s) can be used more like Weber's ideal types and mobilized at a level of generality consistent with the researcher's interest. An alternative use would be to develop what we take to be the initial stimulus for introduction of the term, that is to theorise the experience of sociality which precedes any self-conscious group endeavour. At this level, the concept could be developed along lines similar to that of Marxists who hold humanity to be generically societal so as to designate, with suitable socio-historical modifications, the commitment made to an endeavour prior to any formal articulation. Turner is, of course, aware of the socio-historical nature of *communitas*<sup>8</sup> but does not seem to have taken such recognition further.

The difficulty with *communitas* is part of a general problem arising in part from the commingling of the aesthetic with the more literal use of language familiar to 'intellectual' endeavour, something to which Raymond Firth has made reference.<sup>9</sup> However, more significantly, it arises from Turner's ideological position, namely that of structural functionalism. In the case of the Ndembu rituals, *communitas* is seen as functional for structure and moreover consensus arising from shared values is also perceived as resting on *communitas*. In other words, there is a suggestion that *communitas* helps to generate the values essential for the continuation of the structures required for the effective functioning of society.<sup>10</sup> *Communitas* along with liminality and other states is a mode of anti-

structure. In the case of the Pilgrimage, liminality 'liberates the individual from the obligatory everyday constraints of status and role, defines him as an integral human being with a capacity for free choice, and within the limits of his religious orthodoxy presents for him a living model of human brotherhood and sisterhood'.<sup>11</sup> Here again a particular model of the social system tends to present the pursuit of individual freedom as necessarily outside society, as an issue of the individual v. society. Thus, in order to rescue free choice, voluntarism has to be placed outside the major part of social activity. Yet even in this region, as Schwartz has argued<sup>12</sup> such *communitas* is ritually contrived i.e. is integral with the rest of productive life. The construction of Dramas, Fields and Metaphors, as Hanchett has pointed out, exacerbates the conceptual confusion of the book, an example of which being the extremely broad and not entirely consistent definition of structure in at least two of the essays.<sup>13</sup> It is unnecessary to enter into the debate over the use of the term 'structure' for it to be evident that the mobilization of, for example, the Marxian model, as opposed to the Mertonian definition would have produced a radically different view of social change.

Finally, on this issue, I should like to cite Firth's critique of 'social drama' which, as he points out displays less of a concern with the explanation of social development than analysis of the restoration of equilibrium.<sup>14</sup> It also tends to give support to a conception of historical development as a product of the decisions of individual actors with such intervention having possibly 'dysfunctional' implications, a view many would take issue with. Even allowing for Turner's explicit intention to pursue the formation of a 'personal myth', social drama is presented, not as a metaphor for

social change, but as a conceptual tool enhancing, rather than weakening the position of critics. Further, in this context, as Firth points out, the designation of a crisis as a drama over-exaggerates the possibility of abandonment and assumption of roles by the actors concerned.<sup>15</sup>

Some of the problems to which we have referred reappear in the selection of work which we have examined published by Turner's associates.<sup>16</sup> Turkle's designation of the French protest of '68 as<sup>17</sup> festive and ritualistic is not solely metaphoric but is used as a description of a class of liminal, anti-structural phenomena. As a result, the work is bedevilled by a certain ahistoricity or, at least, ambivalence regarding the consequences of the period, as Hanchett states in her review of the collection of which Turkle's paper forms a part.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, Turkle's account of the relationship between 'French over-exaggeration of structure' and absurdist symbols<sup>19</sup> is a convincing link-up of institutional organization and aesthetic refraction of the values associated with the system. As Hanchett suggests, Moore's work, particularly the Epilogue<sup>20</sup>, is probably the most effective because of its conceptual clarity, strengthened, in our view, by attempts at a radical departure from the functionalist position. For in extending to the wider society use of the terms structure and anti-structure, a strategy for which Turner indicates his approval, she implicitly casts doubt on the notion, central to this dichotomy, of a universal division of social life. For 'the complexes of "structured" and "anti-structured" relationships and associated philosophies with which Turner is occupied can be seen', she declares, 'as special cases of a much wider and more fragmented distribution of regulatory processes, situationally specific adjustments and indeterminacies in social life'.<sup>21</sup>



## II

Bearing in mind some of our strictures regarding inappropriateness of terms with respect to the work of Turner and his associates, let us now turn to related problems in our consideration of spectacle. Some of these have been generated as the result of gaps in the conceptual framework sketched out at the commencement of the study and others are historical questions arising from the analyses constituting chapters three, four and five. If we take the second issue first, namely the socio-historical examples, probably the most contentious area is that surrounding the camp meeting; is it, in fact, justifiably included and, if not, what are the implications for the basic conceptual schema?

At the outset, it may be recalled, we suggested that not all spectacles were overt statements of power and, therefore, we would include those with structural connotations, albeit unrecognised by the participants (the term is used here to designate all those present and/or engaged in the organisation of the event). No mode whereby 'implications' could be identified was offered but, inferentially, responses by primary target groups were deemed significant. However, a clear problem arose when dominant institutions and/or the ruling class responded negatively to a spectacle, typically progressive, even when there was no evidence to suggest it was designed as a threat to this class/institution. That the dominant strata felt it to be a threat cannot be entirely discounted as a legitimate basis for inclusion but it becomes increasingly difficult to establish exactly what, if anything, of a structural nature, is being challenged in the production of the spectacle. It is in this context that the problem respecting the inclusion of the camp meeting should be seen.<sup>22</sup>

If we again refer back to the opening chapter, it will be found



that three alternative class:ideology relationships within the spectacle were suggested, namely one class + one ideology, many classes + one ideology, many classes + many ideologies. This tripartite division was designed to allow for multi-vocality, including contradiction, in the 'message' articulated in the spectacle. In the event, the potential in this model was not exploited and theoretical slipperiness was enhanced by the rudimental conceptual framework used to explicate the symbolic schema in spectacle, a question with which we shall be dealing below. Finally, as regards the camp meeting, obstacles surrounding its inclusion were exacerbated by the paucity of material, relative to the other two studies and the problem of establishing its status in the political life of the period.

I should like now to offer some modifications to the value systems outlined in chapter two whereby they could be more subtly articulated so as to allow better mobilization of the initial tripartite division. Firstly, let us turn to Frank Parkin's<sup>23</sup> model of the normative order which is, of course, designed to account for the distribution of values in contemporary industrial societies and should, therefore, be used with care. Nevertheless, it should be added that ambiguous though the Industrial Revolution may have appeared to contemporaries, with hindsight, we know it was transitional to a fully-developed capitalist society. Parkin argues that there are three major meaning-systems in Western societies, the dominant, subordinate and radical value systems.<sup>24</sup> It is the second of these three, namely the subordinate, with which we are concerned since the existence of conservative and radical positions has been adequately documented in the body of the thesis. Within the subordinate value system, strong emphasis is given to social divisions and conflict,

some doubt is cast on the morality of the existing distributive system and persistent inequities<sup>25</sup> but this is not to be equated with class consciousness for political opposition is generally confined to resentment at bureaucracy and a sense of communal solidarity in interpersonal relationships, i.e. localized identification.<sup>26</sup> In fact, as Parkin states, the subordinate value system could be defined as 'an uneasy compromise between rejection and full endorsement of the dominant order' that is 'a "negotiated version" of the dominant value system' by which is meant 'dominant values are not so much rejected or opposed as modified by the subordinate class as a result of their social circumstances and restricted opportunities'.<sup>27</sup> It is this body of ideas which inform what is commonly identified as the 'working class subculture',<sup>28</sup> a matter to which we shall be returning later.

Although Parkin repeatedly emphasises the negotiated nature of this value system, there remains the associated analytical issue of its identification. He answers this by arguing that recognition of the normative reference point depends on the level of generality of the inquiry.<sup>29</sup> He extends this proposition by hypothesizing 'that, in situations where purely abstract evaluations are called for, the dominant value system will provide the moral frame of reference; but in concrete social situations involving choice and action, the negotiated version - or the subordinate value system - will provide the moral framework'.<sup>30</sup> This suggestion is then supported with some examples drawn from contemporary life.

Returning now to the camp meeting, using Parkin's thesis, we are left with the strong possibility that as an example of a concrete social situation involving the local, lower-class community articulating resentment and solidarity, the camp meeting was not in fact

a spectacle in the sense we have used the term.

Nevertheless, there is something to be explained when the vehemence of the opposition to Methodism amongst the ruling class is considered, in particular precisely the kind of large-scale event of which the camp meeting is an example. Consequently, we shall return, briefly, to the bracketing of the subordinate value system with the notion of 'working class subculture'. Although Robert Colls' book, The Colliers Rant, a study of the north-eastern mining community during the Industrial Revolution<sup>31</sup> lacks the rigour of Parkin's work his thesis is in many ways very suggestive. He argues that the Primitive Methodists were the 'predominant Cultural Revolutionaries of the colliery community',<sup>32</sup> because not only did they attack the old popular culture, i.e. the largely hedonistic enjoyment of song, dance and drink, but contributed to its reformulation. They played a major role in creating a 'respectable' working class culture, its most radical interpretation feeding the political work of the trade union movement.<sup>33</sup> It is this double-edged aspect of Primitive Methodism which is the salient point here, as we also attempted to show in our discussion of the camp meeting's form. Religion has always been of particular significance because, as Marxists have recognised, it often presents the underprivileged with an alternative value system to that which is currently dominant. Similarly, religious institutions can be politically radicalized especially when formal political outlets are blocked.

During our period, religious groups were supported by the most radical elements amongst holders of the subordinate value system because such groups were hostile to the Church of England, still having much political power as the state church. Further, these groups organized at the local level and expressed elements of estab-

lished popular culture making the Methodist sects politically opposed to and by the dominant social class. It was the new and very vigorous cultural creativity which brought forth ruling class opposition, although it was defined by them as radical political activity. Yet it must be admitted that vital though religious fecundity was in enriching radical movements, it was largely in the areas of what Parkin has termed 'instrumental collectivism' i.e. a form of organisation indigenous to the subordinate class which reflects its moral framework. In other words, the sects lacked a systematic, class-oriented meaning system.<sup>34</sup> Colls' study supports this view for he shows how much Primitive Methodism was concerned with concrete experience, for example, intemperance, and how readily, albeit unintentionally, it absorbed lower-class cultural patterns,<sup>35</sup> such as boisterous singing and street social life. Notwithstanding these often extreme modifications to dominant values, in the end, we are left with a campaign by both the middle and upper classes against what was and remained a subordinate value system, an attack largely arising from their own confusion regarding the implications for the continuance of their interests of sectarian religious activity. Doubtless the memory of the precedent set by sectarian groups in the Civil War in combination with the hairline profiteering in many of the new enterprises played a part in this confusion. Similarly, the spread of capitalism, as many commentators have pointed out, brought with it an interest in the psychology and manners of the expanding proletariat i.e. interventionist as opposed to fatalistic stance toward the lower orders. Broadly then the camp meeting falls into the category of subordinate cultural activity conceived as politically threatening by the ruling class. As Colls shows, political culture was, indeed, fed by Methodism in style and organization of

meetings, verse form and so on but, in our historical context, their Weltanschauung were ultimately opposed.

### III

Much of the foregoing has been about the precise relationship between the cultural and political life of the Industrial Revolution, we come now to a related issue, central to the sociology of culture, namely the connection between culture and ideology and, in particular, that of drama with culture and ideology. Both culture and ideology have almost as many definitions as commentators so, in order to try to make our own position clear, the introduction included a brief statement of our understanding of the term ideology. In essence, it was used to identify Weltanschauungen, i.e. belief systems, and not as a general description of all values, norms and so forth held by the members of any given social system. An attempt was made in chapter two to identify the three major value systems obtaining between 1780 and 1832 and in the later exemplificatory chapters to demonstrate how their mobilization provided a source whereby creative elements came into play in the three spectacles under discussion.

It will be apparent, therefore, that a major weakness was the implicit notion of the cultural event as reflective of one or more ideologies. And it is to this problem to which we shall now turn. In the first instance, we shall adopt Raymond Williams' position as regards culture, defining it 'as the signifying system through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored'.<sup>36</sup> In this way, languages of all kinds, both commonsense and specialist e.g. intellectual and artistic, are embraced as well as symbolic systems, such as dance or those concrete symbols used in religious rituals. Clearly, at this

uncture, it is necessary to affirm that as a productive area, culture is constitutive i.e. it is not simply derived from another aspect of the social order.<sup>37</sup> Further, such a status implies distinct productive processes, although we should also recognize that self-conscious translation of ideology into a cultural form is not thereby precluded. As Williams suggests these non-abstractable elements comprise the 'physical and material processes of art work, as production of a distinct and general kind'.<sup>38</sup>

Let us now turn to drama, the form of cultural production with which we are most concerned. Jean Duvignaud understands drama to mean 'a development, limited and defined in time and space, "a peculiarly significant segment of common experience", whose connected elements carry out or merely represent important collective action'.<sup>39</sup> As both Duvignaud and Williams note<sup>40</sup> the dramatic mode can operate at various levels of generality; however, at the purely artistic/aesthetic level, drama involves what Williams calls the 'processes of working and reworking which are the specifics'<sup>41</sup> of that particular practice. Both commentators agree, as was suggested above, that this embraces the production of forms which remain embedded in the practice of drama.<sup>42</sup> Such autonomous practice, typically taking place in a theatre (or similar building), Duvignaud suggests, leads to the creation of signs which do not 'generate any motivating force'. In other words, he argues the possibility of 'actual realization of action in collective life' is nullified and it is this social impotence which enriches the symbolic power of the theatre.<sup>43</sup>

Having in a short but we trust not too superficial manner identified some key elements of drama, we shall seek to gather the threads of spectacle and dramatic action together. Spectacle, as we indicated at the beginning of the study, is closely allied with dramatic



performance. Yet, it is our contention that as a social rather than theatrical experience, spectacles are a restricted mode of dramatic action having less scope for the refinement of aesthetic forms than a performance where concern with dramatic signals is dominant i.e. we suggest that the emphasis in spectacle is on the social articulation of dramatic forms rather than 'drama' itself.<sup>44</sup> Given this qualification to dramatic activity, it seems appropriate to view the cultural element of spectacle as an aspect of popular culture and to this end, we shall turn to Chaney's definitional discussion in Fictions and Ceremonies.<sup>45</sup> His central claim regarding its distinctiveness is that 'popular art is produced for an audience' hence, 'the commitment to such standards [popular esteem] is to making ideas work in a public manner'. Aesthetically, this results in the 'unofficial' or institutionally unlegitimized status of the forms.<sup>46</sup> Chaney goes on to suggest that 'production of popular art is always an area of shifting and more or less explicit modes of social control providing a crucial tension over expectations, aspirations and denials'.<sup>47</sup> Popular art is a component in social control because of its public and heterogeneous nature, such cultural democracy being always potentially anarchically fragmented.<sup>48</sup> In the same vein, i.e. the focus on the public as both audience and subject, Chaney argues that 'a prerequisite of popular art is a documentary impulse - the concern to show the community in process'.<sup>49</sup>

We can certainly identify dramatization of the community (however defined) as the central theme of spectacle. Similarly, the political or, at least, manifestly ideological function of the events is part of our definition of spectacle. Nevertheless, given our objections to Turner's *communitas/structure* schema, the model of connections between conscious belief and cultural production offered

by Williams seems to us superior since, commitment to community does not have to be bracketed out as preceding creative activity but can be voiced at one of the three levels he proposes, namely i) 'direct connections with the beliefs, in included manifest content'; ii) 'traceable connections to the relations, perspectives and values which the beliefs legitimize or normalize, as in characteristic selections of subject' or iii) 'analysable connections between belief-systems and artistic forms, or between both and an essentially underlying "position and positioning" in the world'.<sup>50</sup> Thus the community in the Refórm Bill demonstration does not embrace all humanity but marks the recognition of a new, differentiating bond between the lower sections of the population. In the camp meeting, the degree of individuation, that is separation of the individual from the community is dramatised through the inter-locking and yet competitive stances of the major activists, participants and spectators.

Another central theme of public ceremonies, of which spectacle is a subdivision, is the centrality of reciprocity, something which we only partially grasped through our categories of activist, participant and spectator. Duvignaud argues that in magical ceremonies, this exchange is symbolized in the passing of concrete symbols between officiants and followers.<sup>51</sup> However, it is clear that in more aesthetically developed dramatic events, the need to transfer actual objects between the two groups has been mastered. The achievement of agreement with respect to the use of signifying systems is now possible at a completely abstracted level. At this level, the dramatic situation is absolutely dominant over that of the social, whether predominantly ideological or instrumental.

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. Given this, we append a brief description of our understanding of the class divisions pertaining at this time. In the upper class were landowners - the aristocracy, gentry and a few upper bourgeois; owners of large-scale production units in agriculture, manufacture and commerce. The middle class consisted of owners of remaining land and commercial interests, clergy and other 'professionals', whilst the agricultural and industrial proletariat, journeymen and 'service' workers comprised the lower class. Finally, we should mention the lumpen proletariat i.e. those outside the economic process, amongst which group were found petty criminals and the workhouse poor.

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### CHAPTER THREE

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his fellows, now with another. It is elitist in that it assigns the main role in the political process to self-chosen groups of leaders. It is an equilibrium model in that it presents the democratic process as a system which maintains an equilibrium between the demand and supply of political goods'.p.77.

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78. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.116.
79. Gilbert, p.72.
80. Gilbert, p.73.
81. Gilbert, p.76.
82. Gilbert, p.78.
83. Gilbert, p.83.
84. Gilbert, p.85.

85. For a discussion of anomie in relation to the camp meeting, see p.156.
86. Gilbert, p.89.
87. Sturgess, p.80.
88. Eric J. Evans, 'Some Reasons for the Growth of English Rural Anti-Clericalism, c1750-c1830', Past and Present, 66 (February, 1975), 84-109, p.86.
89. Evans, p.95.
90. For full discussions of the typical features of non-conformist districts see Gilbert, chapter 5; Alan Everitt, The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century, Department of English Local History, Occasional Papers, second series, no. 4, Leicester University Press, 1972.
91. Gilbert, p.100.
92. Brian Lewis, Coal Mining in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Seminar Studies in History, London, 1971, p.29.
93. T.S. Ashton, 'The Coal-Miners of the Eighteenth Century', Economic Journal (Supplement), I (1928), 307-334, p.327.
94. Ashton, p.311 ff.
95. Quoted E.P. Thompson, p.394.
96. Quoted in Miners, Quarrymen and Saltworkers, edited by R. Samuel, History Workshop Series, London, 1977, p. 67.
97. Quoted in Ashton, p.331.
98. Description of the Estate of Culross, Edinburgh, 1793, p.69.
99. Quoted in Miners, Quarrymen and Saltworkers, p.67.
100. Quoted in E.P. Thompson, p.458.
101. E.P. Thompson, p.576; Evans, p.92; Sturgess, p.78.
102. Thomas Southcliffe Ashton and Joseph Sykes, The Coal Industry of the Eighteenth Century, Manchester, 1929, p.232.
103. E.P. Thompson, p.291.
104. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, revised edition, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957, p.132.
105. Merton, p.133.
106. From Max Weber, p.331.
107. Quoted in E.C. Urwin and D. Wollen, John Wesley Christian Cit-



izen: Selections from his Social Teaching, London, 1937, p.63.

108. Quoted in Urwin and Wollen, p.73.
109. Quoted in Urwin and Wollen, p.30.
110. Quoted in Urwin and Wollen, p.72.
111. Quoted in Urwin and Wollen, p.63.
112. Quoted in Urwin and Wollen, p.21.
113. The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers: Chiefly Written by themselves, edited by Thomas Jackson, third edition, 6 vols, London, 1865, II, p.194.
114. Quoted in Warner, p.191.
115. Benjamin Smith, Methodism in Macclesfield, London, 1875, p.232.
116. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.86.
117. Quoted in Wilkinson, Clowes, p.27.
118. Quoted in Davison, p.57.
119. Quoted in Walford, p.94.
120. Davison, p.46.
121. Quoted in Davison, p.59.
122. Walford, p.80. His remarks are very closely tied to his identification of the colliers as the major source of recruitment to the faction.
123. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.180.
124. Walford, p.164.
125. Clowes quoted in Davison, p.23.
126. Clowes quoted in Wilkinson, Clowes, p.24.
127. Clowes quoted in Davison, p.23.
128. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.122.
129. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.123.
130. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.123.
131. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.122.
132. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.124.
133. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.124.

134. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.124.
135. Clowes quoted in Wilkinson, Clowes, p.24.
136. Quoted in Davison, p.23
137. Bourne quoted in Walford, pp. 121-122.
138. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.122.
139. Clowes quoted in Davison, p.23.
140. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.122.
141. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.123.
142. Clowes quoted in Davison, p.23.
143. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.123.
144. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.122.
145. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.67.
146. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.98.
147. Walford, p.44.
148. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.43.
149. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.44.
150. Wilkinson, Bourne, p.71; Walford, p.71.
151. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.123.
152. Quoted in Wilkinson, Bourne, p.31.
153. Quoted Walford, p.62; Wilkinson, Bourne, p.34.  
For further reference to the July 1801 meeting see p.173.
154. Walford, pp. 85 and 114.
155. Walford, p.115; Kendal, p.22.
156. Walford, p.74.
157. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.76.
158. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.97.
159. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.99.
160. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.98.
161. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.113.

162. Quoted in Walford, p.161.
163. Walford, p.125.
164. Mounfield, p.9.
165. This position regarding social structural problems enhances the anomic aspect of the imagery to which several critics have devoted some attention, notably E.P. Thompson. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the subject matter was not fortuitous and was a blend of biblical material and incidents from specific wars, most notably the colonial wars and Irish uprisings.
166. Walford, p.73.
167. Bourne quoted in Walford, pp. 106 and 109.
168. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.106.
169. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.115.
170. Walford, p.125.
171. Bourne quoted in Walford, p.88.
172. Walford, p.164.
173. Quoted in Walford, p.109.
174. Walford, p.113.
175. See E.P. Thompson, pp. 441ff and J.L. and Barbara Hammond, The Town Labourer 1760-1832: The New Civilization, London, 1917, chapter 2.
176. Merton claims 'this response occurs when the individual has assimilated the cultural emphasis upon the goal without equally internalizing the institutional norms governing ways and means of its attainment'. pp. 141 ff.
177. E.P. Thompson, p.87.
178. E.P. Thompson, p.86.
179. Quoted in Horace Twiss, The Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon, with selections from his correspondence, 3 vols, London, 1844, I, p.435 (26 March.1804).
180. Ashton and Sykes, p.155.
181. Davies, History of Macclesfield, p.180.
182. Quoted in Twiss, I, p.416.
183. J. Steven Watson, The Reign of George III 1760-1815, The Oxford History of England, 14 vols, Oxford, 1960, 12, pp. 375-376.

184. Quoted in John Stoughton, Religion in England from 1800 to 1850, 2 vols, London, 1884, I, p.26.
185. Quoted in Cyril Matheson, The Life of Henry Dundas: First Viscount Melville 1742-1811, London, 1933, p.353.
186. A.J. Taylor, 'The Sub-contract system in the British Coal Industry', Studies in the Industrial Revolution, edited by L.S. Pressnell, London, 1960, pp. 215-235, p.217.
187. From Max Weber, p.334
188. Walford, p.44 (editorial comment by Antliff).
189. In discussing ceremonies devoted to the creation of a 'state of grace', Weber observes 'only the rationalized religions have imputed a metaphysical meaning into such specifically religious actions, in addition to the direct appropriation of sacred values. Rationalized religions have thus sublimated the orgy into the "sacrament"'. From Max Weber, p.278.
190. Quoted in W.R. Ward, Religion and Society in England 1790-1850, London, 1972, p.50.
191. E.P. Thompson, p.242.
192. See p.151 above for a summary of the general lines of this argument.
193. George Rudé, Paris and London in the 18th Century: Studies in Popular Protest, London, 1974, p.332.

#### CHAPTER FOUR

1. Robert Mudie, A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland, second edition, Edinburgh, 1822, p.244.
2. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Visit of George IV to Edinburgh 1822: An Exhibition depicting the Ceremonies and Personalities Involved, Edinburgh, 1961, pp. 4 and 22.
3. J.G. Lockhart, Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., 7 vols, Edinburgh, 1837, V, p.202
4. Mudie, p.22
5. This general description was drawn from Mudie, pp. 189-202; The Scotsman, 24 August 1822; Edinburgh Evening Courant, 24 August 1822; Edinburgh Advertiser, 23 August 1822; Caledonian Mercury, 24 August 1822.
6. The Scotsman, 24 August 1822
7. Mudie, pp. 197-198.

8. Morning Chronicle, 26 August 1822
9. Mudie, pp. 197-198.
10. Morning Chronicle, 19 August 1822
11. Mudie, p.29.
12. Morning Chronicle, 24 August 1822.
13. Mudie, p.198.
14. Mudie, p.199.
15. Mudie, p.189.
16. Mudie, p.25; Edinburgh Advertiser, 23 August 1822.
17. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 24 August 1822.
18. Quoted in B.C. Skinner, 'A Contemporary Account of the Royal Visit to Edinburgh, 1822', The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, 31 (1962), 65-167, p.129 (22 August 1822).
19. Albert Mackie, Scottish Pageantry, London, 1967, p.28.
20. The Scotsman, 17 August 1822.
21. James Balfour Paul, The History of the Royal Company of Archers, Edinburgh and London, 1875, p.145.
22. Bamber Gascoigne, World Theatre, London, 1971, p.227
23. Gascoigne, p.241.
24. G.P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century, London and New York, 1913, pp. 11-12.
25. Gooch, p.10.
26. The Scotsman, 24 August 1822.
27. Caledonian Mercury, 24 August 1822.
28. The Scotsman, 31 August 1822.
29. Mudie, pp. 198-200.
30. Mudie, p.106.
31. Quoted Skinner, p.131 (22 August 1822).
32. Edinburgh Advertiser, 23 August 1822; Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany, 11 (1822), p.250.
33. The Scotsman, 24 August 1822.
34. Morning Chronicle, 16 August 1822.

35. Morning Chronicle, 26 August 1822.
36. Edinburgh Advertiser, 23 August 1822.
37. Mudie, p.191.
38. Quoted in Skinner, p.129 (22 August 1822).
39. T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830, London, 1969, p.373.
40. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 3 August 1822.
41. Mudie, p.40.
42. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 24 August 1822.
43. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 1 August 1822.
44. Morning Chronicle, 26 August 1822.
45. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 8 August 1822.
46. Morning Chronicle, 26 August 1822.
47. The Scotsman, 17 August 1822.
48. The Letters of Sir Walter Scott, edited by H.J.C. Grierson, 12 vols, London, 1934, VII, p.241 (13 September 1822).
49. Grierson, VII, p.230 (4 September 1822).
50. Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott, edited by [David Douglas], 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1894, II, p.148 (4 September 1822).
51. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 26 July 1822.
52. Norman Gash, Mr Secretary Peel: The Life of Sir Robert Peel to 1830, London, 1961, p.301.
53. Edinburgh Gazette, 21 August 1822.
54. The Scotsman, 14 September 1822.(taken from The Times).
55. Carola Oman, The Wizard of the North: The Life of Sir Walter Scott, London, 1973, p.263.
56. Alexander Heron, The Rise and Progress of the Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh 1681-1902, Edinburgh, 1903, p.183.
57. Heron, p.183; W. Forbes Gray, 'The Incorporation of Candlemakers of Edinburgh, 1517-1884', The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, 17 (1930), 91-146, p.123.
58. The Scotsman, 17 August 1822.
59. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 8 August 1822.



60. Paul, p.143. The Royal Company of Archers decided to offer themselves as a guard at a meeting held on 1 August 1822.
61. J.H. Plumb, The First Four Georges, London, 1956, p.177.
62. Christopher Hibbert, George IV: Regent and King 1811-1830, London, 1973, pp. 18-19, 21, 22-24, 30-31, 103, 130, 153-154.
63. Hibbert, p.21.
64. The Hunts, editors of The Examiner, were charged, fined and imprisoned for their attacks on the regent, particularly with regard to his personal immorality (Hibbert, p.23). William Hone, the left-wing writer and bookseller, was prosecuted but acquitted in 1817 for his satirical pieces directed at the regent. George IV offered a reward of £500 for the discovery of the radical leaders of the April, 1820 west-of-Scotland uprising. (Ellis P. Beresford and Seamas Mac A'Ghobhainn, The Scottish Insurrection of 1820, London, 1970, p.194).
65. Plumb, p.178.
66. Oman, p.258.
67. Laurance James Saunders, Scottish Democracy 1815-1840: The Social and Intellectual Background, London, 1950, p.23.
68. Saunders, p.67.
69. Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine, 3 (1822), p.474.
70. Smout, p.373.
71. The Scotsman, 3 August 1822.
72. Saunders, p.81.
73. Smout, p.373.
74. Paul, pp. 141-142.
75. Paul, pp. 143-144.
76. Mudie, pp. 30 and 207.
77. Lockhart, V, p.47.
78. Mudie, p.30.
79. Morning Chronicle, 26 August 1822.
80. Quoted in J.T. Dunbar, History of Highland Dress, Edinburgh and London, 1962, p.11.
81. A.S. Turberville, The House of Lords in the Age of Reform 1784-1837: With an epilogue on Aristocracy and the advent of Democracy 1837-1867, London, 1958, p.167.

82. Quoted in Turberville, p.370.
83. Turberville, p.375.
84. Keith Webb, The Growth of Nationalism in Scotland, Glasgow, 1977, p.29.
85. The Scotsman, 10 August 1822. Even the king's 'private' visits were designed as spectacles.
86. Familiar Letters, II, p.151 (7 September 1822).
87. Saunders states 'in 1791 the immigration of Catholic Highlanders had been first encouraged by the promise of employment and facilities for worship and a distinguished Highland priest had been appointed to Glasgow in 1793. By 1831 it was estimated that there were nearly 27,000 Catholics in Glasgow, and "probably as many more" in the surrounding industrial area'.(107) Further, as Saunders goes on to remark 'however alien in their ways and "subversive" in their views they were an economic convenience and "nativist" hostility could do little except resist economic competition and social differences by a revival of religious agitation'. The fact that after the 1840s, Irish immigration overtook the movement of highlanders to the central belt does not diminish the argument for unifying the Scots would help prevent Catholic poorly paid highlanders developing a bond with the Irish.
88. Letters to Sir Walter Scott, Bart on the moral and political character and effects of the Visit to Scotland in August 1822, of his Majesty King George IV, Edinburgh, 1822, pp. 6-9.
89. Mudie, p.17.
90. Edinburgh Advertiser, 13 August 1822.
91. Morning Chronicle, 17 August 1822.
92. John Buchan, Sir Walter Scott, London, 1932, p.240; A.O.J. Cockshut, The Achievement of Walter Scott, London, 1969, p.74.
93. Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine, 3 (1822), p.471.
94. Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine, 3 (1822), p.475.
95. Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine, 3 (1822), p.471.
96. Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany, 11 (1822), p.250.
97. The Scotsman, 24 August 1822.
98. Morning Chronicle, 26 August 1831.
99. It might be argued that an over literal emphasis has been placed on the absence of the lumpen proletariat. The purpose is to underline the huge absence of a numerically significant element of the lower class. Further, we seek to link this abs-

ence within the spectators with the mode of structuring the participants so as to demonstrate the essential continuity in the personnel of the two populations.  
Edinburgh Advertiser, 23 August 1822.

100. The Scotsman, 24 August 1822.
101. Henry William Meikle, Scotland and the French Revolution, Glasgow, 1912, p.223.
102. E. Richards, 'Patterns of Highland Discontent, 1790-1860', in Popular Protest and Public Order: Six Studies in British History 1790-1920, edited by R. Quinault and J. Stevenson, London, 1974, pp. 75-114, p.78.
103. Richards, p.84.
104. Richards, p.80.
105. Morning Chronicle, 26 August 1822.
106. Grierson, VII, p.241 (13 September 1822).
107. Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine, 3 (1822), p.471.
108. Caledonian Mercury, 12 August 1822 (quoting the Glasgow Courier).
109. A. Allan MacLaren, Religion and Social Class, London, 1974, see chapter one for a full discussion of Aberdonians' economic status.
110. Malcolm Gray, The Highland Economy 1750-1850, Edinburgh and London, 1957, pp. 203ff; James Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community, Edinburgh, 1976, pp. 17ff; Smout, pp. 351ff.
111. [William Hone] , The Northern Excursion of Geordie, Emperor of Gotham; and Sir Willie Curt-His, the Court Buffoon, etc., etc. London, n.d., p.32.  
This remark was actually accredited to the king by the Morning Chronicle, 20 August 1822.
112. Scottish Episcopal Review and Magazine, 3 (1822), p.472.
113. Some letters of Lord Cockburn with pages omitted from the Memorials of his Time, edited by Harry A. Cockburn, Edinburgh, 1932, p.103.
114. Caledonian Mercury, 5 August 1822.(quoting the Glasgow Chronicle).
115. Quoted in Skinner, p.124 (20 August 1822).
116. Quoted in Hunter, p.14.
117. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the hopes of the organizers for the whole visit. The enforced absence of certain

groups was in part a reflection of the speculative nature of the organizers' endeavour. In the event of the new mode of legitimation being accepted, the governing class could hope to capitalize on it by the dispersal of favourable news of the entire visit. Similarly, as a reference point to remind the Scots of the values embodied in the visit, anniversary celebrations of all sorts could be mounted. Finally, specific visual reminders could be made as statues, prints, and verbal, in the shape of sermons, addresses to school children and so on. But should the visit turn out badly then such ideological work could be halted at source.

119. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class, p.20.
120. Saunders, p.19.
121. Richards, p.106.
122. In 1834, the Evangelicals having won control of the General Assembly the previous year, passed the Veto Act giving a congregation the right to refuse a patron's nominee. The House of Lords constantly supported the patrons and in 1843, the Church of Scotland split over this and related issues.
123. John Butt, 'The Scottish Cotton Industry during the Industrial Revolution 1780-1840', in Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900, edited by L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout, Edinburgh, n.d., pp. 116-128, p.118.
124. William Ferguson, Scotland: 1689 to the Present, The Edinburgh History of Scotland, 4 vols, Edinburgh, 1978, IV, p.285.
125. Hunter, p.29.
126. Saunders, p.27.
127. P. Hume Brown, History of Scotland to the Present Time, 3 vols, Cambridge, 1911, III, p.316.
128. Saunders, pp. 36ff.
129. Smout, p.320.
130. In fact, there were two aspects to the distortion. For not only was the historical picture inaccurate in that medieval society did not resemble the one portrayed during the spectacle but the perspective of the event also gave greatest prominence to the ruling class with the other classes occupying the mid- and back-grounds, depending upon their position in the social structure. There was only the very haziest sense of the presence of the lower class and all lacked the particularity of the aristocratic figures.
131. Cockburn, p.104.
132. The Scotsman, 24 August 1822.

133. Familiar Letters, II, p.148 (4 September 1822).
134. The Scotsman, 17 August 1822
135. Morning Chronicle, 19 August 1822.
136. The Scotsman, 31 August 1822.
137. Morning Chronicle, 20 August 1822.
138. See Anand C. Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History, London 1976; Scotland, Europe and the American Revolution, edited by Owen Dudley Edwards and George Shepperson, Edinburgh, 1976.
139. Saunders, p.309.
140. Smout, p.451; Saunders, p.245.
141. A.A. MacLaren, 'Introduction: An Open Society' in Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present, edited by A. Allan MacLaren, Edinburgh, n.d., pp. 1-11, p.3.
142. Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700, Oxford, 1977, p.87
143. MacLaren, Religion and Social Class, p.28.
144. Smout, p.235.
145. Smout, p.234.
146. Smout, p.87.
147. John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland: From the commencement of the Christian era to the present century, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1859, II, p.588.
148. T.M. Devine, 'Social Stability in the Eastern Lowlands of Scotland during the Agricultural Revolution, 1780-1840', in Lairds and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment, edited by T.M. Devine, Papers from the Ninth Scottish Historical Conference, 1978, pp. 59-70.
149. Butt, pp. 117ff.
150. Webb, p.30.
151. Webb, p.27.
152. James G. Kellas and Peter Fotheringham, 'The Political Behaviour of the Working Class' in Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present, edited by A. Allan MacLaren, Edinburgh, n.d., pp. 143-165, p.143.

153. Webb, p.29
154. Webb, p.29.
155. Sir Walter's Post-Bag: More stories and side-lights from his unpublished Letter-Books, edited by Wilfred Partington, London, 1932, p.170.
156. Lockhart, V, p.192; Mudie, p.209.
157. Mackie, p.28.
158. Lockhart, V, p.206.
159. Grierson, VII, p.213 (22 July 1822).
160. Lockhart, V, p.202.
161. Many MPs took part in the procession for a number, by right of title held office under the crown.
162. Letters to Sir Walter Scott, p.80
163. One possible convergence point in the histories of the two regions of Scotland may lie in their mutual experiences of internecine strife. Both the Calvinist creed and clan loyalties bred intense, factional confrontations. Thus for the lowlander, the recollection of the heroic sixteenth and seventeenth century struggles could well have been sharpened by those taking place later in the highlands, although clearly the issues were different.
164. Hunter, p.15.
165. Malcolm Gray, p.187.
166. Hunter, p.19.
167. Hunter, p.19. Kelp, made by reducing seaweed to ash, was used in the production of soap and glass. The Passenger Act, whilst purporting to protect would-be emigrants from taking dangerous shipping was actually designed to restrict emigration by the simple expedient of raising the cost of the tickets to put them beyond the reach of the majority of crofters.
168. Smout, p.349.
169. R.M.D. Grange, A Short History of the Scottish Dress, London, 1966, p.68.
170. Dunbar, p.149.
171. Dunbar, p.144.
172. Dunbar, p.149.
173. It is also paradoxical that the cloth of poor peasants was po-



pular on the plantations overseas where betartaned slaves were easier to identify. (Dunbar, p.148).

174. Letters to Sir Walter Scott, p.85.
175. Letters to Sir Walter Scott, p.143.
176. Letters to Sir Walter Scott, pp. 68-69.
177. Letters to Sir Walter Scott, p.84.
178. Mudie, pp. 107-108.
179. Malcolm Gray, p.185.
180. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, edited by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, London, 1977, p.264.
181. From Max Weber, p. 264.
182. From Max Weber, p.262.
183. Letters to Sir Walter Scott, p.8.
184. From Max Weber, p.264.
185. Mudie, p.7.
186. Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated and edited by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, London, 1964, p.347.
187. Weber, Social and Economic Organization, p.353.
188. For examples of ballads see Edinburgh Advertiser, 9 August 1822 and 16 August 1822; Caledonian Mercury, 8 August 1822 and 10 August 1822; Edinburgh Evening Courant, 8 August 1822.
189. Mudie, p.196.
190. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, p.26.
191. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, p.33.
192. Paul, p.160.
193. Paul, p.165.
194. Michael Brander, The Making of the Highlands, London, 1980, p.157.
195. Saunders, pp. 21-22.
196. Brander, p.160.
197. Michael Brock, The Great Reform Act, London, 1973, p.168.

198. Christopher Harvie, Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707-1977, London, 1977, p.77.
199. Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany, 11 (1822), p.250.
200. Jack Brand, The National Movement in Scotland, London, 1978, p.93.
201. Saunders, pp. 29-30.
202. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1980, p. 139.
203. Mudie, p.21.
204. James Grant, Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh: Its History, its People, and its Places, 3 vols, London, 1882, II, p.311.
205. William and Robert Chambers, Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1833, p.95.
206. Daniel Wilson, Memorials of Edinburgh: In the Olden Time, second edition, 2 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1891, I, p.172.
207. Edinburgh Advertiser, 13 August 1822.
208. Edinburgh Advertiser, 6 August 1822.
209. Mudie, p.40.
210. Caledonian Mercury, 12 August 1822.
211. Dunbar, p.150.
212. Dunbar, p.151.
213. Harvie, p.88.

#### CHAPTER FIVE

1. Michael Brock, The Great Reform Act, London, 1973, p.243.  
I wish to acknowledge my debt in this opening piece to Michael Brock's extremely full account of the passage of the Reform Bill through parliament.
2. The Sun, 10 October 1831 and 13 October 1831.
3. The Sun, 13 October 1831; The Times, 13 October 1831.
4. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
5. The Times, 13 October 1831.
6. Quoted in London Radicalism 1830-1843: A Selection from the Papers of Francis Place, edited by D.J. Rowe, London Record

Society, 1970, p.42.

7. Quoted in Joseph Hamburger, James Mill and the Art of Revolution, London, 1963, p.53.
8. Quoted in Hamburger, p.151.
9. The Standard, 13 October 1831.
10. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
11. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
12. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
13. Cobbett's Political Register, 15 October 1831; The Sun, 13 October 1831.
14. The Times, 13 October 1831.
15. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
16. The Times, 13 October 1831.
17. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.44.
18. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
19. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.44.
20. Morning Chronicle, 13 October 1831; Examiner, 16 October 1831; The Sun, 13 October 1831; Cobbett's Political Register, 15 October 1831; The Times, 13 October 1831; Carpenter's Political Magazine, October 1831 quoted in Hamburger, p.151.
21. The Standard, 12 October 1831.
22. Quoted in Horace Twiss, The Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon, with selections from his correspondence, 3 vols, London, 1844, III, p.153 (13 October 1831).
23. Wellington and His Friends: Letters of the First Duke of Wellington to the Rt. Hon. Charles and Mrs. Arbuthnot, the Earl and Countess of Wilton, Princess Lieven, and Miss Burdett-Coutts, edited by the Duke of Wellington, London, 1965, p.98 (12 October 1831).
24. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.43.
25. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
26. Cobbett's Political Register, 15 October 1831.
27. Lord Broughton (John Cam Hobhouse): Recollections of a Long Life with additional extracts from his Private Diaries, edited by Lady Dorchester, 6 vols, London 1909-1910, IV, p.139.
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31. The Times, 13 October 1831.
32. Raymond Smith, Ceremonials of the Corporation of London, revised edition, London, 1962, pp. 32-33 and 166-169.
33. Quoted in Twiss, III, p.154 ( 13 October 1831).
34. The Standard, 12 October 1831 (letter from a reader).
35. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
36. The Times, 13 October 1831.
37. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.43.
38. The Standard, 12 October 1831 (letter from a reader).
39. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
40. The Times, 13 October 1831.
41. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.43.
42. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.43.
43. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.43.
44. The Sun, 11 October 1831; The Standard, 12 October 1831 (letter from a reader).
45. Quoted in Cobbett's Political Register, 15 October 1831.
46. The Times, 13 October 1831.
47. Powell quoted in London Radicalism, p.43.
48. The Times, 13 October 1831.
49. The Times, 13 October 1831.
50. Quoted in Hamburger, p.151.
51. Wellington, p.99 (12 October 1831).
52. Quoted in Twiss, III, p.154 (13 October 1831).
53. The Times, 13 October 1831.
54. Wellington, p.99 (12 October 1831).

55. The Poor Man's Guardian 1831-1835, reprint of the original journal, 4 vols, London, 1969, I, p.128 (15 October 1831).
56. The Times, 13 October 1831.
57. Quoted in Twiss, III, p.153 (13 October 1831).
58. The Standard, 14 October 1831.
59. The Times, 13 October 1831.
60. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.44.
61. Hamburger, p.153.
62. Cobbett's Political Register, 15 October 1831.
63. Quoted in Twiss, III, p.153 (13 October 1831).
64. Three Early Nineteenth Century Diaries, edited by A. Aspinall, London, 1952, p.150 (Lord Ellenborough, 13 October 1831).
65. Quoted in Hamburger, p.151.
66. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
67. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
68. The Standard, 13 October 1831.
69. The Sun, 11 October 1831.
70. Broughton, p.139.
71. The Times, 13 October 1831.
72. The Standard, 14 October 1831.
73. Quoted in Twiss, III, p.153.
74. Quoted in Hamburger, p.149.
75. Quoted in Hamburger, p.149.
76. The Times, 12 October 1831.
77. The Standard, 14 October 1831.
78. The reports of attacks at sites and times when large numbers of participants were gathered makes it impossible to uphold the claim made by the organizers that none of the protestors were involved. Conversely, attacks on dwellings outside the main area of the spectacle, suggest that either groups broke away from the main march or especially formed units focused on such action. Either is possible but, in any event, comparatively small numbers were involved.
79. George Rude, The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturb-

ances in France and England 1730-1848, New York and London, 1964, p.211.

80. The Times, 13 October 1831.
81. The Standard, 14 October 1831.
82. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
83. The Times, 13 October 1831.
84. John Powell sent an account of the Procession and the events leading up to it to Francis Place in May 1834; it is reproduced in London Radicalism.
85. Beatrice and Sidney Webb, English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The Parish and the County, London, 1906, p.213.
86. Webb, Parish and the County, p.262.
87. Webbs, Parish and the County, pp. 32, 65, 67 and 207.
88. I. Prothero, 'Chartism in London', Past and Present, 44 (1969), pp. 76-105, p.93.
89. R.K. Webb, Modern England: From the 18th Century to the Present, London, 1975, p.221.
90. Webbs, Parish and the County, p.263.
91. The Sun, 11 October 1831.
92. Webbs, Parish and the County, pp. 242-245.
93. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.42
94. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.41.
95. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.34.
96. The Sun, 10 October 1831.
97. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.37. See p.320 below for a discussion of the origins of these emblems.
98. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.40.
99. Quoted in Hamburger, p.152.
100. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.42.
101. Place quoted in D.J. Rowe, 'Class and Political Radicalism in London 1831-2', The Historical Journal, XIII (1970), 31-47, p.39.
102. The Sun, 13 October 1831.



103. The Times, 12 October 1831.
104. Quoted in Hamburger, p.153.
105. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act: The Manor and the Borough, 2 vols, London, 1908, II, p.677.
106. Webbs, Manor and Borough, II, p.627.
107. Quoted in Webbs, Manor and Borough, II, p.674.
108. Rude, p.51.
109. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, revised edition, London, 1978, p.844.
110. Malcolm I. Thomis and Peter Holt, Threats of Revolution in Britain 1789-1848, London, 1977, p.89.
111. Thomis and Holt, p.94.
112. Poor Man's Guardian, 15 October 1831.
113. Carpenter's Monthly Political Magazine, a reprint of the original journal, (vols 1 and 2 (1831-1832)), New York, 1968, December 1831.
114. Political Magazine, December 1831.  
Quite how much traditional sabre-rattling rhetoric there was is open to speculation but it is known that the petitioners requested the abolition of the Lords and the Rotundaist demands - quite sufficient for the petition to be deemed unacceptable to the delicate sensibilities of the king.
115. Brock, p.238.
116. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1980, p.276.
117. F.M.L. Thompson, p.46.
118. See Brock, pp. 203-208 for a detailed discussion of the anti-reform arguments.
119. J.R. Butler, The Passing of the Great Reform Bill, London, 1914, p.188.
120. The Reform Act 1832: The Correspondence of the late Earl Grey with His Majesty King William IV and with Sir Herbert Taylor From Nov. 1830 to June 1832, edited by Henry, Earl Grey, 2 vols, London, 1867, I, p.363 (8 October 1831).
121. Quoted in Llewellyn Woodward, The Age of Reform 1815-1870, second edition, Oxford, 1962, p.77
122. Leonard W. Cowie, Hanoverian England 1714-1837, London, 1967, p.49.

123. Butler, p.192.
124. Woodward, p.23.
125. F.M.L. Thompson, p.59.
126. F.M.L. Thompson, p.59.  
Brock (p.233) claims the threat of creations did not convince hostile peers. See also Cobbett's Political Register, 15 October 1831 which states of Brougham, the Lord Chancellor, 'he saw long before the debate was concluded that there would be a decided majority against the bill. He had heard without doubt that which the public learnt on Saturday and Sunday, namely that fears existed that the King would be prevailed upon to refuse to make a new creation of peers, without which the bill could not be carried, and without which Lord Grey could not remain in office'.
127. Brock, p.248.  
Hetherington, an ultra-radical opposed to giving the bill any support wrote in Poor Man's Guardian, 15 October 1831 'we are prepared for a more moderate measure, and a change of ministry to which the Chancellor will accommodate himself'.
128. Grey, I, p.366 (8 October 1831).
129. The Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham Written by Himself, 3 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1871, III, p.141
130. Grey, I, p.376 (10 October 1831).  
The cockades were also a way of indicating that the participants were identifying with the real source of the answer to be given to their petitions.
131. R.K. Webb, p.209.
132. G. Lowes Dickinson, 'Whigs Were Aided by the Middle Class' in The Great Reform Bill of 1832: Liberal or Conservative?, edited by Gilbert A. Cahill, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1969, pp. 7-15, p.11.
133. Cowie, p.433.
134. The Sun, 11 October 1831.
135. The Sun, 10 October 1831.
136. The Times, 12 October 1831.
137. Lowes Dickinson, p.11.
138. The Sun, 11 October 1831.
139. Quoted in S. Maccoby, English Radicalism 1786-1832: From Paine to Cobbett, London, 1955, p.430
140. Maccoby, p.430.

141. The Sun, 13 October 1831.
142. The Times, 13 October 1831.
143. Quoted in E.P. Thompson, p.819.
144. The Times, 13 October 1831.
145. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.41.
146. S.G. Checkland, The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885, London, 1964, p.302.
147. Butler, p.296.
148. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.37.
149. Quoted in D.J. Rowe, p.38.
150. The Sun, 13 October 1831; The Times, 13 October 1831.
151. Maccoby, pp. 433-444.
152. E.P. Thompson, p.680.
153. See p.119 above for remarks on golden-ageism.
154. Harold Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880, London, 1978, p.232.
155. E.P. Thompson, p.910.
156. The ideology was both voluntaristic and individualistic. Thus, according to Powell, 'nothing was impossible to be determined' as it was solely a question 'of the state and feelings of the people' and similarly 'to the energetic, determined and persevering nothing is impossible' (London Radicalism, pp. 41 and 45). Structured inequalities were ignored so all that was necessary in order to achieve 'change' was to either overcome negative attitudes because, Powell suggests, one 'can never err...in speculating on human nature despite [sic] of forms and customs' or be sufficiently committed to an idea as 'no man is too insignificant to serve his country or to promote the march of great events'.
157. As The Times (13 October 1831) put it, there was a 'deep, unceasing and increasing desire of the majority of the thinking world for a restitution of their political rights'. Changes had taken place, as was widely recognized. Grey wrote 'a great change has taken place in all parts of Europe since the end of the war in the distribution of property, and unless a corresponding change be made in the legal mode by which that property can act upon the governments, revolutions must necessarily follow'. (Quoted in Brock, p.149).
158. E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution 1789-1848, London, 1962, p.279.

159. Hobsbawm, p.279.
160. Hobsbawm, p.281.
161. Hobsbawm, pp. 281-282.
162. R.K. Webb, p.178.
163. Hobsbawm, p.298.
164. Hobsbawm, p.298.
165. Hobsbawm, p.282.
166. Woodward, p.77.
167. Douglas Hay, 'Property, Authority and the Criminal Law', in Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England, edited by D. Hay, P. Linebaugh, John G. Rule and others, London, 1977, pp. 17-64, p.22.
168. The Sun, 11 October 1831.
169. The Sun, 11 October 1831.
170. The Times, 12 October 1831.
171. The Sun, 11 October 1831.  
There was also a need to prevail on participants to adopt the new modes of protesting i.e. consistent and uniform action, rather than erratic and violent attacks.
172. Hay, p.18.
173. Hay, p.18.
174. Rude, p.230.
175. R.K. Webb, p.91.
176. R.K. Webb, p.47.
177. C.B. Macpherson, The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy, Oxford, 1977, p.10.
178. Poor Man's Guardian, 15 October 1831.
179. Lowes Dickinson, p.15.
180. The Times, 13 October 1831; Poor Man's Guardian, 15 October 1831.
181. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.44.
182. E.P. Thompson, p.259.
183. D.J. Rowe, p.41.

184. Prothero, p.84.
185. E.P. Thompson, p.266.
186. E.P. Thompson, p.285.
187. E.P. Thompson, p.262.  
Thus it was the confidence of the worker in his skill rather than the bond with the employer arising from this which prevailed. The difference probably stemming from the greater economic security of the former.
188. Rude, p.244.
189. Quoted in London Radicalism, p.41.  
See also E.P. Thompson (p.811) who states 'the insanely stubborn last-ditch resistance of the diehards (the Duke of Wellington, the Bishops) to any measure of reform dictated a strategy (which was exploited to the full by the middle-class Radicals) by which popular agitation was brought to bear behind Grey and Russell, and in support of a Bill from which the majority had nothing to gain'.
190. Checkland, p.302.  
The watch-makers who shut shop in Clerkenwell could well have been members of their trades group which was certainly active in 1825.(Thompson, p.264).
191. London Radicalism, Introduction, p.xvii.
192. E.P. Thompson, p.270.
193. Duncan Crow, The Victorian Woman, London, 1971, p.71.
194. Sheila Rowbotham, Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It, London, 1974, p.33.
195. Crow, p.71.
196. Crow, p.30.
197. Crow, p.45.  
The putative NPU faction which dominated the procession was differentiated from the NUWC by its professional membership, a significant factor in enforcing 'respectability' since it was this group that would tend to produce the ideologists. Rowe notably fails to note the differences between the two groupings, rather than the similarities, and, as a result, fails to really come to grips with the shape of the London reform movement.
198. Brock, p.322.
199. Norman McCord, The Anti-Corn Law League 1838-1846, London, 1958, p.135.
200. McCord, pp. 150 and 152.



201. McCord, p.150.
202. McCord, p.186.
203. Lucy Brown, 'The Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League', in Chartist Studies, edited by Asa Briggs, London, 1959, pp. 342-371, pp. 355-356.
204. W.H. Chaloner, 'The Agitation against the Corn Laws' in Popular Movements c1830-1850, edited by J.T. Ward, London, 1970, pp. 135-151, p.135.
205. McCord, p.163.
206. McCord, p.160.
207. McCord, p.161.

#### CHAPTER SIX

1. See Richard W. Lieban, 'Symbols, Signs, and Success: Healers and Power in a Philippine City', in The Anthropology of Power. Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World, edited by Raymond D. Fogelson & Richard N. Adams, London, 1977, pp. **57-66** and Steven Lukes, 'Political Ritual and Social Integration', Sociology, 9 (1975), 289-309.
2. Raymond Firth, Symbols Public and Private, London, 1973, p.245.
3. V.W. Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society, Ithaca, New York, 1974, p.127.
4. Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors, p.123.
5. Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors, p. 234, p.243.
6. Barbara Myerhoff implicitly acknowledges that only Turner can do a Turner as regards communitas by simplifying/clarifying the term for her own purposes. Barbara G. Myerhoff, 'Organization and Ecstasy: Deliberate and Accidental Communitas among Huichol Indians and American Youth' in Symbol and Politics in Communal Ideology. Cases and Questions, edited by Sally Falk Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, Ithaca and London, 1975, pp. 33-67, p.33.
7. V.W. Turner, The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure, London, 1969, p.132.
8. Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors, p.253.
9. Firth, p.189, p.192.
10. V.W. Turner, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual, London, 1970, p.96ff. It is true that Turner's later work in attempting, amongst other things, to break away from his earlier



structuralist position offers less functionally-oriented explanations. However, in certain respects his difficulties are compounded and in Dramas, Fields and Metaphors, one example makes the implicit conservatism of the position apparent. He remarks, 'it is still today a commonplace of conversations in situations dominated by structural (or middle-class values) to hear such comments on hippies as, "How can one tell whether its a boy or a girl - they all have long hair and dress alike?"' (my emphasis), p.247.

11. Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors, p.207.
12. Theodore Schwartz, 'Review of The Ritual Process', American Anthropologist, 74 (1972), pp.904-908, 906.
13. Suzanne Hanchett, 'Five Books in Symbolic Anthropology', American Anthropologist, 80 (1978), pp.613-21, 616.
14. Firth, p.195.
15. Firth, p.194.
16. For example, Max Gluckman, Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society, Oxford, 1965 and Symbol and Politics in Communal Ideology. Cases and Questions, edited by Sally Falk Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, Ithaca and London, 1975.
17. Sherry Roxane Turkle, 'Symbol and Festival in the French Student Uprising (May-June 1968)', in Symbol and Politics, pp. 68-102, p.69.
18. Hanchett, p.617.
19. Turkle, p.90.
20. Sally Falk Moore, 'Epilogue: Uncertainties in Situations, Indeterminacies in Culture', in Symbol and Politics, pp.210-240,
21. Moore, p.223.
22. Thus our use of Merton's definitions of manifest and latent function could only deal with distinctions generated at the organizational level and not with those made by the target group(s).
23. Frank Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order. Social Stratification in Capitalist and Communist Societies, London, 1971.
24. Parkin, p.81.
25. Parkin, p.88.
26. Parkin, p.90.
27. Parkin, pp.91-92.

28. Parkin, p.89.
29. Parkin, p.95.
30. Parkin, p.93.
31. Robert Colls, The Colliers Rant. Song and Culture in the Industrial Village, London, 1977.
32. Colls, p.77.
33. Colls, p.98.
34. Parkin, p.91.
35. Colls, p.131 ff.
36. Raymond Williams, Culture, London, 1981, p.13.
37. Williams, p.13.
38. Williams, p.28.
39. Jean Duvignaud, 'The Theatre in Society: Society in the Theatre', translated by Tom Burns in Sociology of Literature and Drama, edited by Tom and Elizabeth Burns, London, 1973, pp.82-99, p.83.
40. Duvignaud, p.83; Williams, p.59.
41. Williams, p.28.
42. Williams, p.148.
43. Duvignaud, p.86.
44. Williams, p.149.
45. David Chaney, Fictions and Ceremonies. Representations of Popular Experience, London, 1979.
46. Chaney, p.9.
47. Chaney, p.12.
48. Chaney, pp. 11-12.
49. Chaney, p.10.
50. Williams, p.27.
51. Duvignaud, p.89.

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